

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

JOBLESS YOUTH



A worldwide crisis
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L.A.: Judge rejects phony desegregation plan

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11,000 teachers at NEA convention

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GAY RIGHTS STRUGGLE: A strategy to win

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Carter: no abortion rights for poor

'There are many things wealthy people can afford & poor people can't...that's life'

Baring his contempt for women and all working people, Jimmy Carter told a July 12 news conference he will do everything possible to take away federal money for abortions. He promised to interpret "very strictly" the June 20 Supreme Court decision that government-funded abortions are no longer a constitutional right.

Carter's message was an ominous warning

Editorial

to every woman, every Black, and every worker of what his administration has in store for them.

Asked if it is fair to deny safe abortions to

women who cannot afford them, Carter said:

"Well, as you know there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved.

A moral factor? Whose morality? The morality of the capitalist class, coming from the mouth of "the president of the rich," as Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, rightly tagged Carter.

This is a morality that condemns one-third of all women who obtain abortions each year to now resort to back-alley butchers or bear children they do not choose to have.

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Miners unite behind Kentucky strikers

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United Mine Workers Journal/Earl Dotter

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Blackout sheds light on Con Ed & poverty

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK, July 15—Last Sunday Charles Luce, chairman of Consolidated Edison Company here, assured New Yorkers over television that there was practically no possibility this summer of an electrical blackout.

But at 9:30 p.m. Wednesday night, Luce's improbable happening happened.

Early yesterday morning—with the entire city and much of the suburbs thrown into darkness—Luce woefully told reporters that Con Ed's engineers would "go back to the drawing boards."

Another Con Ed spokesperson cynically told a radio station that the utility's system for such emergencies

If you get your 'Militant' late this week, don't blame the post office . . . this time. Blame Con Ed. The Militant's printing plant was among the last sections of New York City to get power back.

had worked well: "only" 9 million people had been thrown into darkness, instead of 30 million affected by the 1965 blackout.

But don't blame Con Ed. The blackout, the utility explained, was an "act of God."

Lightning, you see, had struck some Con Ed power lines. A freak occurrence to be sure!

The sudden darkness wasn't the only concern of those New Yorkers listening to their transistor radios.

Around 11 p.m., reports reached radio stations that some kind of fire or explosion had occurred at Indian Point, where Con Ed's three nuclear power plants are located. The glow could be seen from twenty miles away.

(The Indian Point plants are notoriously unsafe. In February 1976, Robert Pollard, a project manager for the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission, resigned to protest the danger of nuclear power. He specifically cited the Indian Point complex, only twenty-six miles from Manhattan. "The Indian Point plants have been badly designed and constructed," he said, "and are susceptible to accidents that could cause large-scale loss of life.")

Con Ed announced that the problem at Indian Point had been a transformer, not a reactor, and insisted that nuclear plants are perfectly safe—not a terribly reassuring assertion from the same corporation that claimed five days ago that a blackout couldn't happen.

Con Ed is one of the utilities that is using the "energy crisis" to justify rate hikes and continued nuclear power development. Wednesday night's blackout fiasco shows once again that these companies cannot be trusted.

All they care about is profits. And to keep those

profits high, they will lie through their teeth about safety, reliability, oil and gas supplies, or anything else.

Mayor Abraham Beame, up for reelection next November, tried to capitalize on New Yorkers' justifiable outrage at Con Ed by demanding a federal investigation.

But an investigation conducted by the government of the rich won't uncover the truth.

Con Ed employees and consumers must be given full access to the company's files and financial records. Then we'll find out what Con Ed is *really* doing with all the money that's rolling in from its rate hikes.

Meanwhile, city authorities called up all 25,000 police, and Gov. Hugh Carey sent in state troopers. "We've seen our citizens subjected to violence and vandalism . . . a night of terror . . . whole communities looted and burned," Mayor Beame lamented.

This is the same Mayor Beame whose Democratic Party administration has mercilessly cut back needed social services and laid off tens of thousands of city employees so that Wall Street bankers can rake in billions of dollars in interest payments.

The same Mayor Beame who year after year has slashed funds for already inadequate summer jobs programs in this city's poorest communities, where youth unemployment runs at 60-80 percent.

"I think it was an act of God," one Black woman told a television crew. "The lightning struck and now we're able to get a little bit back for all the years we've been ripped off, beaten, and oppressed."

"This is for all the time we couldn't afford Pampers for our babies."

"Well, we got Pampers now."

A man interviewed by another TV crew said, "The people were hungry, and today they were showing their hungriness."

"On July 13, 1977, Christmas came a second time for this neighborhood."

Mayor Beame told city cops to "throw the book" at the "looters."

The cops, meanwhile, were throwing a lot more than books. A person living on Broadway on the Upper West Side of Manhattan told me that a phalanx of police cars cleared the darkened streets. Newspapers reported that cops arrested people randomly in the vicinity of stores that had been broken into.

City officials reopened the Tombs, with the blessing of the federal judge who had ordered that miserable dungeon closed down as cruel and unusual punishment after a prison revolt there a few years ago.

As we went to press, at least 3,300 people have been arrested.

But Charles Luce, Abraham Beame, and the Wall Street bankers—the people who are looting and vandalizing this entire city—went free again.

ALICE PAUL, ERA PIONEER, DIES: Veteran suffragist Alice Paul died July 9 at the age of ninety-two. Paul drafted the Equal Rights Amendment and spoke out for its ratification through the last years of her life.

In 1907 British suffragists Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst inspired Paul to take up the cause of women's rights. While studying in England, she marched in British demonstrations for the vote. Three times police jailed Paul. When she went on a hunger strike, she was repeatedly force fed by nasal tubes—the standard treatment for those daring to demand that women have equal political rights.

Back home in 1913, Paul led a march on Washington, D.C., of 10,000 suffra-



gists the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration.

Like women today Paul faced an administration that claimed to crusade for democratic and human rights. During World War I, Paul publicly condemned the government's hypocritical stance of fighting "for freedom" abroad, while denying freedom for women at home.

In 1923, three years after women won the vote, Paul launched the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment as the next step toward winning equality for women.

Fifty-four years later, this goal is still not won. But Paul's lifetime of struggle has helped to bring it closer and inspired others to continue the fight.

Mich. nurses convicted

FILIPINA NURSES CONVICTED: Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso, the nurses accused of using a muscle-relaxing drug to kill patients at the Ann Arbor Veterans Administration Hospital in Michigan, were convicted July 13 on the poisoning charges. Narciso was acquitted on charges of murder. Both women were also convicted of conspiracy.

The nurses could receive life sentences.

The government's case was so flimsy, said defense attorney Thomas O'Brien, that the nurses were "overwhelmed, shocked, and disbelieving."

The prosecution never came up with a witness who could directly link the defendants with the patients' deaths. A VA hospital nurse supervisor who committed suicide in February said she had done the poisoning.

The nurses, who have been released on bail, will appeal the verdict.

Hospital employees reacted angrily to the guilty verdict. "I think a lot of people will take some kind of drastic action," hospital worker Pat Olsen told the *New York Times*. She said some people might resign to protest the verdict.

Stearns strikers

'They won't mine coal without a contract'

By David Frankel

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—“They just wouldn't keep the mine safe for the men working in it,” Mahan Vanover explained when I asked him about how the strike began.

Vanover is the picket captain of the striking coal miners who have shut down the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, for the past year. When I talked to Vanover July 8, at a picnic and rally in support of the striking Stearns miners, the atmosphere was friendly and relaxed. There was plenty of good music and good food.

But the issues in the Stearns strike are life-and-death issues, and even at the picnic we were reminded of that. Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, opened his brief remarks to the several hundred persons there by asking for a moment of silence for four miners who had died the day before in a mine explosion in nearby St. Charles, Virginia (see box).

Unity and solidarity were the themes of the rally. “If we stick together, I'm sure you will win a United Mine Workers contract,” Mason Caudill, president of UMWA Local 1569 in Middlesboro, Kentucky, told the crowd.

“We're going to keep the money flowing in,” Caudill promised. He also promised help in keeping the mine

shut down. “Every state trooper they throw in there, we can throw in twenty-five more people.”

Similar support came from Mickey Messer, president of the Brookside UMWA local. “I understand the struggle you are going through right now, because we had thirteen months of it at Brookside,” Messer said.

Patrick vowed that the Stearns strikers could depend on the full support of the UMWA. Referring to the differences within the union during the recent three-way presidential race, in which he ran against UMWA President Arnold Miller, Patrick stressed that “the campaign is over.”

“It's the coal companies that we've got to fight, especially the coal companies like Blue Diamond,” Patrick said.

“You can bet that the president of Blue Diamond will put his name on a United Mine Workers contract. We are going to make him, no matter what the cost.”

Earlier, when I asked if he thought that the main problem facing the union was to unite against the coal operators, Patrick replied: “Absolutely, that is the first priority. Forget the elections. The election is over and done with. I lost. The important thing is to make the United Mine Workers a fighting force against the operators.”

Although it is clear that divisions within the union leadership remain, Patrick's attitude can be important in helping to minimize their effect. Moreover, the idea of a united struggle against the coal operators was a popular one at the picnic. As Vanover told two visiting unionists, “The only way we are ever going to get organized and stay organized is for the working-class people to get together.”

July 17 marks the first anniversary of the strike at Stearns. Before the strike, Mahan Vanover worked as a tippie operator at the Justus mine and was president of the McCreary County Mine Union—Blue Diamond's company union.

Blue Diamond ran the Justus mine the way they thought best. “They didn't keep the track up and the boys had to walk through mud and water to get to the working place,” Vanover recalled.

“We didn't have any safety program at all,” he added. “The company had its safety men in there, but we didn't



Rally for striking miners in Whitley City, Kentucky

have any say-so over it.”

This last point was especially important. Blue Diamond also owns the Scotia coal mine, where twenty-six miners lost their lives in March 1976.

Finally, Vanover noted, “We didn't have any pension plan at all, nothing to look forward to but our Social Security when we retired.”

“Our contract was expiring April 1, 1976. The United Mine Workers came in and they got cards signed fast—126 to 57.”

After several months of foot-dragging by the company and by

government officials, Stearns miners went out on strike. The company started negotiations, but it broke them off in January.

“Everything was going along peacefully until there was a building burned in back of the bathhouse,” Vanover said. “There was no way the men could have gotten in there to burn it. . . . There were company officials there around the clock.”

“After the building burned, they brought in storm security guards. Gun thugs, that's all they are. Since then, there's been nothing but trouble. They

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HARRY PATRICK Militant/David Frankel

Four die in mine blast

Four coal miners were killed in an explosion at the PMT mine in St. Charles, Virginia, July 7. The blast was apparently caused by accumulated methane gas.

Dead are Harold Johnson, thirty-three; Randall Wells, twenty-seven; Donnie Tester, twenty-eight; and Billie Perkins, thirty.

Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers union, issued a statement declaring the union's “outrage at the flagrant violations of safety laws which caused these unnecessary deaths.”

“Death—for all of us—is inevitable,” said Miller, “but when it is needlessly brought on by grossly

negligent and illegal conduct, its tragedy is compounded. The illegal conduct which caused tragedy—apparent failure to conduct a pre-shift examination—failure to employ a methane detector or a flame safety lamp—provide further examples of the operators' single-minded pursuit of profit at the cost of the lives and health of the mine workers.

“The conditions created by these violations came seriously/perilously close to costing the lives of the other eighteen workers in the mine. Only the grace of God preserved their lives.”

—D.F.

Oil explosion closes Alaska pipeline

By Arnold Weissberg

An explosion in a pumping station on the Alaska oil pipeline July 8 killed one worker and injured five others. Pump Station No. 8 was destroyed by the blast.

“It was a miracle that there were not more people hurt,” said a pipeline foreman. About seventy-five people were in the vicinity when the station blew up.

Oil poured out unchecked for forty-five minutes. Equipment that was supposed to automatically shut down the pipeline in the event of such a break had been disconnected in order to repair a leak that had shut down the pipeline earlier.

The gushing oil set fires in the heavily wooded area of the blast. The total amount of oil spilled has not been revealed.

The pipeline was carrying only 300,000 barrels of oil a day at the time of the explosion. Had it been operating at maximum capacity, 1.2 million barrels a day, the damage would undoubtedly have been much greater.

The blast occurred when a valve suddenly opened, spewing oil into the

pumphouse. The vapor was ignited by a spark from one of the pump engines.

Although oil trusts that will profit from the pipeline have frequently asserted that possible oil spills pose only a minimal threat to the Alaskan environment, this entirely unpredictable disaster proves otherwise.

The next spill might be miles from the nearest crew. Failure of automatic shutdown devices is hardly an unthinkable possibility.

Pipeline construction stumbled from one snafu to another. The latest estimated cost—\$7.7 billion—is more than eight times the original estimate. This dollar figure doesn't include the damage to the environment from the construction itself, not to mention the damage that oil spills will do.

The latest assault on the environment—and on the lives and safety of the pipeline workers—is a strong argument against the proposed new natural gas pipeline across Alaska and Canada.

A Canadian government panel recommended in May that the two routes through Canada be rejected.

In a report issued July 1, a U.S. government task force also argued

against building the pipeline across any of three suggested routes.

One route, entirely in Alaska, would require liquefying the gas and loading it onto tankers. Besides the hazards of an explosion from a fully laden ship, the report noted the risks of thermal and chemical pollution of the water around the liquefying plants.

This same route crosses a known

earthquake zone.

A second route would result in permanent damage to the Arctic permafrost, the report said.

The third would cross the untouched wilderness of the Arctic National Wildlife Range. This was also ruled out by the task force.

President Carter has the final say. His decision is expected by December.



Teachers search for ways to fight back, NEA leaders still count on Democrats

By Lynn Henderson

MINNEAPOLIS—In an atmosphere of growing crisis for teachers and public education, more than 10,000 teachers gathered here July 1-6 to attend the annual convention of the National Education Association.

The 1.8-million-member NEA is the largest teachers union in the nation. Among all unions, it is second in size only to the 2-million-member Teamsters.

Indicative of the continuing attacks on teachers were the 10,000 layoff notices to school employees in Philadelphia during the weeks before the convention.

Addressing the convention, the NEA's two top officers, President John Ryor and Executive Director Terry Herndon, frankly acknowledged that the past two years have been characterized by massive layoffs, devastating cuts in school funding, and government victimization of teachers who tried to defend their living standards.

Sweeping assault

Herndon reviewed this sweeping assault:

- "Last year, at least thirteen school districts closed because they simply ran out of money. Thousands more operated with dreadfully inadequate funds."

- Rather than progress toward the NEA's goal of one-third federal funding of public education, "It has taken enormous effort to maintain the federal portion of support against the budget cutters. . . ."

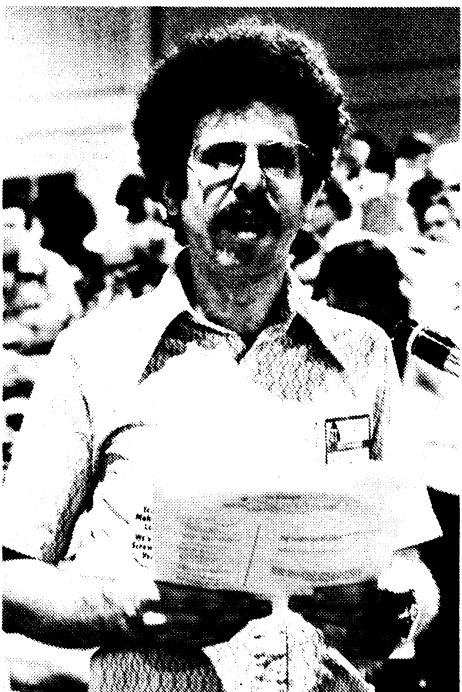
- The already inadequate wages of teachers have declined. "Since 1973-74 the Consumer Price Index has risen 24.3 percent while the average teacher salary rose only 23.4 percent. On the average, teachers have \$81 less in buying power."

- "Many retired teachers live in poverty. . . . To make matters worse, a number of employers of teachers have made preparations to terminate their Social Security."

- When school boards have provoked strikes, "then the teachers are fined, jailed, and otherwise treated as criminals."

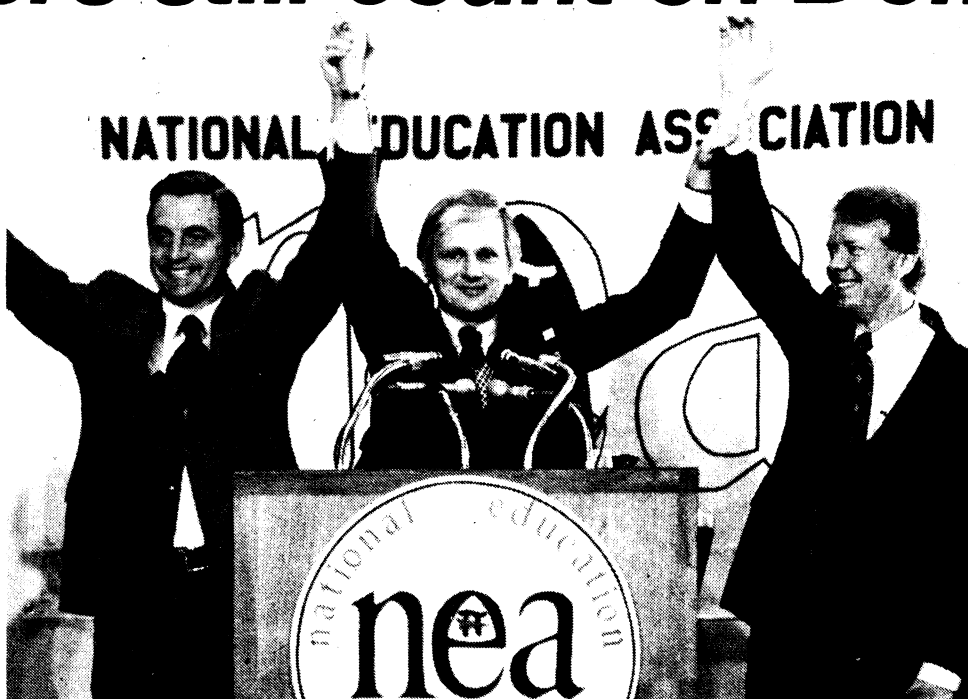
- These attacks have proceeded with the aid of the Supreme Court. "It has narrowed our access to federal courts for abuses of due process. . . . It has ruled the exclusion of pregnancy-related disabilities from insurance programs as compatible with Title VII [of the 1964 Civil Rights Act]. It has backed away from desegregation by establishing that a plaintiff must not only prove discriminatory 'effect,' but discriminatory 'intent' as well."

Despite this recognition that teachers face a serious, ongoing as-



Militant/Lynn Henderson

Joel Aber speaking at NEA convention in support of a conference of all public employees.



Top: Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale receiving union endorsement from John Ryor, president of NEA. Bottom: Jimmy Carter receiving union endorsement from Albert Shanker, president of AFT. NEA and AFT leaders disagree on many questions but follow identical policies in hustling votes for school budget-cutters.

sault on their rights, livelihood, and unions, neither Ryor nor Herndon presented convention delegates with any meaningful program to fight back.

On the contrary, they proclaimed that the NEA's primary strategy since the 1974 elections—massive political support to "friendly" Democratic and Republican politicians—had been a booming success. And they called for more of the same.

In a pamphlet entitled *A Victory for Teacher Power* distributed at the convention, Ryor proudly reviews the NEA's recent political "successes." He points out that in the 1974 elections, 81 percent of the congressional candidates endorsed by the NEA were elected.

In 1976, Ryor continues, we "capped the Bicentennial year by helping elect 291, or more than 83 percent of the 349 NEA-backed candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives as well as the President and Vice-President of the United States."

It is true that the NEA has been successful in mobilizing teacher votes and money behind these politicians. Not only did they help elect Carter, but a majority of Congress now consists of politicians elected with NEA support.

"Teachers in 1976," says Ryor, "earned an 'A' in Advanced Politics."

But this glowing evaluation ignores the fact that these Democratic and Republican politicians—on the local, state, and federal level—are today spearheading the cuts in social services, including education.

In terms of results for teachers and education, the NEA's political strategy clearly deserves an *F*.

The NEA leadership emphasized its continued commitment to this policy by presenting Sen. Hubert Humphrey with its "Friend of Education" award and inviting Vice-President Walter Mondale to address the convention.

Both Humphrey and Mondale trotted out the same empty promises the Democrats have used time and again to collect teachers' votes, while at the same time cutting the throat of public education.

On Sunday evening, July 3, at the Minneapolis downtown YMCA, NEA delegates had a chance to hear politicians of a different kind—four teachers running for public office on the Socialist Workers Party ticket: Joel Aber, a member of the United Teachers of New Orleans, running for mayor of New Orleans; Jim Carson, member of the

Minnesota Federation of Teachers, running for mayor of Minneapolis; Jill Lakowske, member of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, running for Minneapolis School Board; and Bill Piscella, member of the Houston Teachers Association, running for Houston School Board.

Unlike Mondale and Humphrey, these socialist candidates had something to say about how teachers can fight to defend their living standards and public education.

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties," said Aber, "are beholden first and foremost to big business. They are committed to massive cuts in all social services."

"Any policy based on teachers choosing between these capitalist politicians, or lobbying among them, is doomed to failure. That just makes it easier for them to carry out their strategy of divide and conquer."

Deadly choices

"They give us a choice. Either they'll fire two teachers, or five paraprofessionals. Either they'll close three schools, or one hospital. Either they'll end Black studies programs, or end art and music classes."

"And sometimes they even let you vote on it."

"Too often teachers have bought this divide and conquer game," Aber said. "Our allies and our strength are not with these politicians, but with those who suffer most from the cuts in social services—other public employees, parents, students, Blacks, Latinos, and women."

"We teachers have to break with the present policy of both the NEA and AFT [American Federation of Teachers]—policies that reduce us to little more than vote hustlers for the budget cutters."

"Instead, we must solidarize with our real allies, embracing and supporting their struggles and joining with them in a united strategy to fight all the cuts."

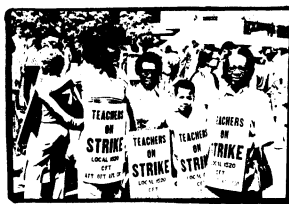
Social issues

The NEA takes good positions on many social issues. It supports affirmative-action programs to compensate for past discrimination against Blacks and women. It opposes discriminatory, last-hired first-fired layoffs, which would wipe out affirmative-action gains for minorities. It supports the Equal Rights Amendment, busing to achieve desegregation, bilingual-bicultural education, and guaranteed minority representation within the union.

At the Minneapolis convention, delegates voted to support the August 26 Equal Rights Amendment actions planned for many cities, and passed a resolution supporting the right of all children to a free public education, regardless of the citizenship status of

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Teachers Under Attack



An alternative to the "business unionism" of Albert Shanker

by Jeff Mackler

- How can teachers organize effectively against massive education cutbacks?

- Why should teachers stop supporting Democrats and Republicans?

- Why have the present policies of both the NEA and AFT proved so inadequate in defending teachers' living standards?

This thirty-two-page pamphlet offers a program for teachers to fight to defend public education.

32 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

17,000 out in Wisconsin AFSCME strike

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—About 17,000 Wisconsin state workers, members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), went on strike July 3. Months of negotiations had failed to produce a contract.

The major issue is wages. Nonunionized state employees, many at the management level, recently received raises of 7 percent for 1977 and 7.5 percent for 1978. The union is asking for the same dollar amount raise, fifty-four cents in 1977 and sixty-four-and-a-half cents in 1978. A raise of 7 or 7.5 percent of the already low wages most AFSCME members now earn would amount to very little.

A clerical worker at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee explained, "Seven percent of my salary comes out to thirty-five cents. For management it comes out to sixty-eight cents. It doesn't seem fair to me."

Jim McPartland, one of the union's negotiators, identified two other major

concerns of the state employees: a cost-of-living clause to keep up with inflation and "the right of workers to work in safe conditions."

McPartland also pointed to the inequality in the state's pay structure. "The one-quarter of state employees who make over \$8,000 a year are getting half of the money in raises this year, while the three-quarters who make less than \$8,000 have to divide the other half," he said.

State workers are paid less than workers in private industry. Thirty-five percent of the clerical workers earn a salary at or below the official poverty level for a family of four. Fifty-six percent of the AFSCME members earn less than the U.S. Labor Department's low-budget standard of living for a family of four.

In addition, state workers' wages have fallen considerably behind the rate of inflation over the past four years.

Overall, the morale of the striking employees is high. At some state

institutions as many as 400 strikers at a time have shown up on the picket line.

Delfine Welch, picket coordinator at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, said that the strike is 85 percent effective in the Milwaukee area. Among nonoffice workers the percentage is even higher.

The major newspapers in Wisconsin have opened up a propaganda barrage against the state employees. Daily articles have highlighted the plight of patients in institutions affected by the walkout in hopes of turning public sentiment against the strike.

Of course, the media raised no such hue and cry over the governor's proposed cutbacks, which would have closed two mental hospitals.

At the same time that the state government is attacking the workers' living standards, it is reducing taxes for big business. A recent machinery and equipment tax exemption to Wisconsin industries has resulted in a loss of about \$80 million in taxes. Just five

days before the strike, the governor announced a tax exemption on inventories that will subtract another \$40 million from state revenues.

Currently in the forefront of the attack on state workers is Governor Martin Schreiber, supposedly a Democratic Party "friend of labor." Schreiber threatened the union shortly before the strike began.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are distributing a statement on the picket lines pointing to Schreiber's role:

"Schreiber has placed himself squarely behind the state's position in refusing to negotiate seriously with the union, forcing them out on strike, and initiating legal action to force them back to work without a contract."

"Working people should draw the conclusions of this: Schreiber and his Democratic Party are not the friends of labor—they represent business. AFSCME and the labor movement need their own candidates and their own political party—a labor party."

Balto mayor breaks contract, cuts wages

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—In its most serious attack yet on public employees unions here, the Democratic administration of Mayor William Donald Schafer declared June 29 that major provisions of the unions' contracts will not be honored.

Schafer and the board of estimates, the body regulating city finances, decided in early June to recommend a fiscal 1977 budget that did not include previously negotiated wage increases for all city workers of 3 percent or incremental salary step-ups.

Schafer said he could pay the already-negotiated 3 percent raises, but would have to lay off more than 900 city workers to do so. He told city employees they would have to accept one of these two alternatives.

Five city unions went to court to get the increments reinstated and won an initial decision.

On June 29, however, the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the city's argument that the pay increases were "subject to the financial ability of the city to make those payments."

That same day, the city council went even further, voting to deny city

workers their increments and to pay the 3 percent raises only if federal funds become available.

Despite threats by some union leaders that any attempt to cut wages would result in a strike, leaders of Local 44 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—the largest and historically most combative of the city workers unions—quickly capitulated to Schafer's wage cut.

In 1974, Local 44 members in the Sanitation Department fought a newly negotiated contract that included almost no gains. City workers waged a two-week strike.

Since that strike, AFSCME officials have done their best to ram unpopular measures through Local 44 and crush all dissent.

It took only ten minutes for Local 44 leaders to bludgeon the membership into okaying this latest "agreement" to rip up their contract.

The capitulation of Local 44 officials helped officials in other city workers unions to quickly gain ratification of new contract terms.

Only Firefighters Local 734 resisted



Baltimore cops assaulted rally supporting striking sanitation workers in 1974. Today Baltimore administration is throwing city workers' contract into the trash.

imposition of the new terms and began a work slowdown.

The city immediately got a court injunction against any form of job action by the Firefighters Union and a promise from Acting Gov. Blair Lee for National Guard troops to break any strike.

Besides taking on the city and state governments, the firefighters also faced opposition from the leadership of other city unions. AFSCME District Council 67 Executive Director Ernest Crofoot told the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, "Everything would be okay except for the firefighters. Charney [Harris, president of Firefighters Local 734] whipped them up and now we can't get them down again."

On July 5 the firefighters went to court asking that the injunction against job actions be nullified. The court upheld the injunction, and on July 7 the firefighters voted to end their sick-out and return to work.

In his latest vindictive move, Mayor Schafer is attempting to force firefighters to reimburse the city for overtime expenses allegedly incurred during the sick-out.

California union makes case for independent labor political campaigns

By John Morley

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—A special convention of the Clerical and Allied Services Employees here July 25 passed a resolution calling for independent labor campaigns for public office.

CASE is the union of clerical workers employed by the state of California.

The proposal resolved that CASE work with the AFL-CIO in calling a national conference of all public-employee unions "to discuss steps to be taken to develop a united labor strategy" to answer the layoffs, cuts in social services, and antilabor legislation that have hit public workers.

It also called for a California state conference of public workers to discuss a strategy to fight for "collective bargaining rights and a fair distribution of the over \$2.7 billion state budget surplus."

At present, public employees do not have the right to bargain collectively in California, except for teachers from kindergarten through community-college level.

Although there is a huge surplus in the state budget, Gov. Jerry Brown has agreed to only a 5 percent increase in

salary for public workers.

The resolution passed at the convention here directs CASE to propose to any such national and state conferences that "all public employee unions, in alliance with the broad labor movement, unite to run independent labor campaigns for public office."

Convention delegate Tom Tomasko introduced the resolution, saying, "The government, our boss, is trying to pit public workers against private workers and public workers against each other."

"The only winners are the rich and their representatives in the government, who are really the ones to blame for cuts in social services and unemployment. We need to get together to overcome these divisions and work out a common strategy."

"One thing for sure we have to discuss," he continued, "is labor's current strategy of relying upon our so-called friends in the Democratic Party. The Democrats control the presidency and Congress. They control three-fourths of the governorships, two-thirds of the state legislatures, and many city and county governments. Our 'friends' could give us anything they want. But instead they give us the shaft."

"We don't need 'friends.' We need ourselves—people we control and who speak for us—in political office."

Mirra Morrison, president of the San Francisco CASE District Council and coauthor with Tomasko of the resolution, pointed out that the United States is the only advanced industrial country where working people do not have their own parties.

There was little discussion, and no one spoke in favor of continuing to rely on Democratic and Republican politicians. The vote was twenty-two to twelve, with eight abstentions.

The convention also voted to affiliate with the Office and Professional Employees International Union (AFL-CIO). CASE voted to disaffiliate from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees more than a year ago, dissatisfied with AFSCME's inaction in organizing state workers in California.

Delegates approved an organizing drive among San Diego county workers and voted to support Assembly Bill 1302, which would make it illegal to discriminate against employees based on sexual orientation or for rejecting the sexual advances of an employer or supervisor.

Chicanos form Ariz. 'Call for Action' committee

PHOENIX, Ariz.—A July 10 meeting here of thirty-five Chicano activists, community organizers, and student leaders formed an Arizona committee to organize for the national Chicano/Latino conference on deportations and other issues scheduled to be held in San Antonio, Texas, next October.

The previous day, a meeting of the Arizona MEChA leadership had decided to make the national conference a major focus for their fall activity. MEChA is a Chicano student group active on many college campuses in the Southwest. Dan Carrasco, former president of MEChA at Arizona State University, chaired both the MEChA meeting and the broader community meeting.

The community meeting unanimously endorsed Texas Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez's "Call for Action" and voted to sponsor a state-wide conference in early October to organize a delegation to the San Antonio conference.

Attendance at the meeting reflected the widespread concern here about deportations and immigration policy. Those attending included participants in a United Farm Workers support committee; Phoenix Committee for Human Rights in Latin America; Arizona Legal Aid Society; three presidents of MEChA chapters; a priest from Peoria, Arizona; members of the Socialist Workers Party; and even one member of the Phoenix City Council.

The community meeting formed the Arizona Call for Action Committee.

Arizona residents who have endorsed the national conference include Margo Cowan, of the Manzo Area Council; Gustavo Gutiérrez, union organizer; Mestro Martínez, Arizona State University MEChA president; Eunice Redondo and Ellie García of the National Organization for Women; Raúl Grijalva, Tucson School Board member; Sal Baldeño, Tucson community activist; and Sister Corina Padilla, of the Bishops Spanish Speaking Council.

Further information on the Arizona committee can be obtained from ASU MEChA at (602) 968-2336. Further information on the national conference is available from the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Phone (512) 227-1220.

By Arturo Ramírez Yañez

HOUSTON—José Angel Gutiérrez spoke to an organizing meeting here June 29 to make plans for Houston's participation in the fall San Antonio conference.

Gutiérrez explained that he decided to issue his "Call for Action" after speaking at several Cinco de Mayo activities and seeing that groups in a number of cities were becoming increasingly worried about the issue of deportations.

After these speaking engagements, Gutiérrez explained, he attended a meeting of Chicano leaders in Ontario, California, where there was general agreement on the need for a national conference to discuss the issues.

Gutiérrez said that the national conference could send a delegation to Washington, D.C., in November after putting together a list of demands on behalf of Chicano and Latino needs.

Judge rejects Los Angeles board's phony busing plan

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—After nearly three months of hearings, Superior Court Judge Paul Egly rejected the Los Angeles School Board's part-time desegregation plan as "constitutionally inadequate."

"The plan fails because it does not desegregate any school in the district," Egly wrote in an opinion handed down July 6.

The school board drew up the plan following a California Supreme Court order to desegregate Los Angeles schools. The plan calls for sending a small percentage of students in segregated schools to "integrated learning centers" for part of the school day forty-five days out of the year. Students would participate in these trips for two of their twelve school years.

The plan would mean that "a total of 111,761 of the 153,704 students in minority elementary segregated schools remain racially isolated," Egly charged.

Egly also criticized the "voluntary busing" aspect of the board's plan. "It [the Permits With Transportation voluntary busing program] is constitutionally suspect," he commented, "because it places the burden of relieving the racial isolation of the minority student on the minority student." Such plans, he said, do nothing to desegregate predominantly Black and Chica-

no schools.

Two weeks before Egly's ruling, the school board itself unintentionally exposed the hoax of "voluntary busing."

A two-month campaign to enlist Anglo students to be bused to Black and Chicano schools netted exactly forty volunteers, the board announced.

In contrast, 18,000 Black and Chicano students volunteered to participate to get the better education that exists in the predominantly white schools.

Egly summed up the overall failure of the board's plan: "It is clear from the evidence that this plan, even if approved by this court, would result in this district continuing to maintain three separate school systems: Brown, Black, and white, each isolated from the other."

Egly stopped short, however, of ordering a desegregation plan for the schools. Instead, he ordered the board to "study all reasonable alternative plans," and report back to him in ninety days. Egly will also appoint a "referee" to report to him on the school board's progress.

Asking the board to study all "reasonable" plans to desegregate is leaving the fox to guard the chicken house. The board has demonstrated for more than a decade that it considers desegregation "unreasonable" in any form. This aspect of Egly's ruling has

drawn criticism from the ACLU and the NAACP.

The ACLU filed suit in 1963 against the board for maintaining a system of segregated schools. The school board has successfully kept the case tied up in the courts ever since.

Ramona Ripston, executive director of the ACLU, says she is concerned that sending the plan back to the board simply gives them another excuse to stall.

Ripston's concern is not unfounded. A majority of the board members say they favor appeal of any desegregation order by Egly that would mean mandatory reassignment of students.

For Black and Chicano students in Los Angeles the board's message is clear: forget about an equal education.

The school board, after nearly fifteen years, has been granted another ninety days to "study." The board will almost certainly demand an extension.

When a new plan is submitted, hearings will have to start all over again.

Whatever order is eventually drawn up will be subject to appeal all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Egly's order gives the school board—which for more than a decade has denied Black and Chicano students their legal right to an equal education—another opportunity to withhold that right.

U.S. Civil Rights Comm. blasts LA school bias

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Until 1947 segregation was the law in Los Angeles.

The existence of de jure segregation here up to the middle of this century is one of many facts the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights unearthed and aired in its May 1977 report on segregation in Los Angeles schools.

"Before 1947," the commission reports, "the education code of California permitted the governing board of any school district to segregate and establish separate schools for Indian children."

The same applied, the commission states, to "children of Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian parentage. No provisions existed whereby Black children in the public schools of California could be legally segregated."

Some desegregation advocates feel this exemption of Blacks had more to do with their small numbers in California before World War II than with any progressive attitudes among state legislators.

"Many children of Hispanic descent," the report continues, "were segregated in separate schools on the theory that if they had any Indian blood, they could be classified as Indians . . . and thereby [be] subjected to segregation."

This statute mandating segregation was repealed following protests by the Chicano community in 1947. In its place school officials developed a complete pattern of de facto segregation.

In 1971 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare conducted an enrollment survey of the Los Angeles school district. The survey showed that Los Angeles schools

were the most segregated in the country.

Civil Rights Commission figures for the same year, contained in the report, show that 86.6 percent of Black students here were attending schools with more than 80 percent Black enrollment.

The extreme segregation of the Los Angeles schools continues to this day—nearly a decade after a court order to desegregate. Pointing to the current depth of segregation in the Los Angeles schools, the commission report emphasizes the fact that segregation means an inferior education for minority students:

"The Los Angeles Unified School District is characterized by racially and ethnically isolated students, racially and ethnically identifiable schools, unequal and overcrowded facilities at predominantly minority schools, and low academic achievement by minority children."

"Of the nearly 600,000 students in the district, only about 100,000 attend integrated schools. Students in the schools in the northern part of the district are predominantly white, those in schools in the southern part are predominantly members of minority groups. The average school in the north has a population of 736; in the south 978. The only schools in split sessions are those in which the population is almost exclusively minority. Schools in the south of the district are older and many are earthquake impacted (in the area of an earthquake fault).

"The children in the schools with high minority enrollment in the district score lower in reading ability than do those in schools with mostly white students."

The commission goes on to indict the school board for policies that

have maintained, and in some cases increased, segregation.

Commenting on the school board's phony "desegregation plan," the report states, "It is not necessary to evaluate whether or not the board plan is 'reasonably feasible' because it is not a desegregation plan at all. It is not necessary to ascertain whether it effects (brings about) desegregated schools within a reasonable time because it does not pretend to desegregate the schools."

One of the most interesting insights the commission makes comes under the section headed, "Community."

"Civil rights advocates," the commission states, "such as the county and city human relations commissions, the NAACP, the SCLC, the ACLU, and the Urban League, should mount a concerted campaign to educate the community about legal requirements to desegregate."

Of course, coming from a government commission, the report doesn't call people into the streets to demand their rights.

But there is a lesson to be drawn from the history of motion toward equal rights that the commission recounts: that is, victories have been won only through the direct intervention of the Black and Chicano communities.

To ensure that a school desegregation plan with some teeth in it is ordered here, the Black and Chicano communities and their supporters, will have to intervene again—in massive numbers in the streets where their political weight is greatest.

The groups on the commission's list of civil rights advocates have the authority and support to mount such mobilizations. They also have a responsibility to do it.

Busing fight brewing 'up South' in Chicago

By Mark Ugolini

CHICAGO—More than 524,000 students attend this city's public schools—60 percent of them are Black, 14 percent Latino, and approximately 25 percent white.

But according to the Illinois Board of Education, less than 80 of the more than 660 schools are integrated, making Chicago's school system—like the city itself—one of the most segregated in the country.

Despite their own evidence, the state board of education refused June 9 to force the Chicago school system to desegregate.

The state board had originally ordered the school system to desegregate substantially by this fall or face a cutoff of state and federal education funds. The state issued guidelines stipulating that Black and Latino enrollment at each school must fall within 15 percent of the entire school district's racial makeup.

Instead of pressing for immediate compliance, the state board extended the fall deadline to March 1978, avoiding an aid cutoff for the time being.

The Chicago NAACP and Operation PUSH condemned the state board's action. Both organizations have called for a cutoff of funds to force the Chicago board to comply with state desegregation guidelines.

"Now the Chicago Board of Education has no real incentive to desegregate, other than some vague, psychological pressure," said PUSH National Executive Director Jesse Jackson. "We strongly urge that the state board demand student desegregation immediately—justice delayed is justice denied. Our equal educational opportunity is long overdue."

William Hardy, executive secretary of the Chicago NAACP, said, "Certainly it means that the state board has joined with the rest of the criminals who continue to perpetuate an injustice on our young people. They are not abiding by the law. The law of the land says we must have an integrated school system."

The NAACP has also said it is considering filing suit against the Chicago board.

'Voluntary' desegregation

The state board's action comes in the midst of growing public debate here on school desegregation.

Under pressure from the state board's original order, the Chicago board has begun to implement a "voluntary" busing plan for the fall.

The plan, designed to relieve some of the overcrowding that plagues the city's schools, calls for students from fifteen Black elementary schools to be shifted to fifty-one segregated schools that have space.

Part of the plan also calls for sending some 240 Black students from Raster and Barton schools to five predominantly white schools in the Bogan area on the city's southwest side.

On June 4 more than 400 people participated in an Urban League conference on school desegregation.



tion. The participants heard speakers from several Chicago Black organizations present the facts on the current state of school desegregation. They also discussed the need to get out the facts to desegregation supporters around the city.

Racists mobilize against plan

Meanwhile racist parents in the Bogan community were mobilizing to stop even the totally inadequate school board plan. They launched, and are still conducting, a boycott of Bogan High School that has been 90 percent effective.

The target of the racist boycott, however, is not the high school. Under the board's "voluntary" plan, up to 300 Bogan High students could elect to transfer out, but no transfers into Bogan High are planned, leaving the school more than 97 percent white with not one Black student.

The real aim of the racist boycott is to force the board to back down on the proposed busing of Black children to seven elementary schools in District 15 in which Bogan lies.

On June 8 more than 300 racist parents from the Bogan area packed a board of education meeting to protest the plan. They attempted to disrupt the meeting and jeered and heckled Blacks and other desegregation supporters who were also present.

Lorraine Block, leader of Mothers for Neighborhood Schools American Style, accused the Chicago board of "criminal intent and intent to murder the family unit by holocaust."

She departed from her prepared text, declaring

that busing Black students to Bogan-area schools would lead to the "extermination of the community." Block added that she would never send her children to school with "illiterates."

"This is not voluntary busing," she continued. "This is just plain forced busing. We intend to keep our students in all-white schools in an all-white neighborhood."

Francine Fatima of the Eberhart Elementary School PTA told the board, "Blacks should be with Blacks, whites should be with whites, and never the twain shall meet. I see nothing wrong with that."

Stephanie Cunningham, the only Black to speak in the discussion, was jeered and shouted down by the racists.

Bilandic blocks busing

Chicago's Democratic Mayor Michael Bilandic has followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Richard J. Daley in blocking any meaningful moves toward school desegregation. Bilandic has failed to defend even the board's inadequate voluntary plan. In a meeting with forty antibusing leaders prior to the board meeting, Bilandic was quoted as saying that busing "wouldn't educate the children. It would move bodies."

On a TV talk show later in the week, Bilandic said, "I don't think busing achieves any major purpose." He added that there is "flexibility" in the voluntary plan and defended the "right" of the antibusing racists to express their "concern that the flexibility not be exercised adversely to them."

Taking a cue from Democratic Party opponents of desegregation in other cities, Bilandic cited the "high cost" of busing as the biggest obstacle.

On the day of his meeting with antibusing leaders, Bilandic named Patricia O'Hern and W. Lydon Wild—both whites—to the school board.

Although more than 60 percent of Chicago's school children are Black, only three Blacks are on the board. Leon Finney, executive director of The Woodlawn Organization, was the only Black even considered by Bilandic.

"The naming of more whites to the school board by Mayor Bilandic is a real kick in the butt to Blacks," said Pat Johnson, educational council president for the southwest side's District 20. "There's been a cry for integration within the system, and I say everything should be integrated—including the school board."

The Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism also assailed the recent attacks on school desegregation. "Chicago schools must be desegregated immediately!" SCAR said. "Black and Latino school children are entitled to an equal education. What is necessary is an extensive and complete desegregation plan which will require whatever busing is necessary."

"A racist offensive has begun and it must be countered. We need to be visible. We need to mobilize in picket lines, community forums, and demonstrations in support of the desegregation of Chicago schools now!"

NAACP leader praises 'Battle of Boston'

By Diane Wang

Jon Hillson's book, *The Battle of Boston: Busing and the Struggle for School Desegregation*, published by Pathfinder Press, is winning favorable comment from civil rights leaders and book reviewers.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston chapter of the NAACP, said, "The Battle of Boston is, by far, the most accurate of all the accounts thus far done of the forces and events surrounding the effort to end illegal segregation in Boston's public schools."

"To an extent not yet achieved by any other account, *The Battle of Boston* conveys the hideous reality which characterized the largely racist opposition and resistance to the lawful orders of the federal courts."

The NAACP included a flyer about *The Battle of Boston* in the material it gave to each of the 3,000 delegates at its recent national convention. At the convention thirteen copies of Hillson's book were sold.

Luis Fuentes, former school superintendent of District One in New York

City and a fighter for bilingual-bicultural education, wrote, "Jon Hillson's *The Battle of Boston* is a vivid and factual description of the forces engaged in sometimes open warfare and at other times struggling silently but just as violently to keep Blacks and Hispanics from receiving equal educational opportunities."

"These forces deny us the right to educate ourselves in our own communities and react even more violently when we attempt to educate ourselves in their schools. Hillson captures the crippled mentality of those opposed to busing in Boston and exposes them for what the crippling disease is—racism."

The *Bay State Banner*, a Black newspaper in Boston, called *The Battle of Boston* "an awesome book."

"Hillson has put together the total network of events that preceded the struggle against segregated schools in Boston and has given, as well, a blow-by-blow account of events in the struggle," wrote reviewer Candelaria Silva.

Silva explains that Hillson was a

reporter for the *Militant* and a staff member of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, "which played a momentous role, particularly by providing information, in the battle."

Hillson's book focuses on Boston, but

its lessons and appeal are not limited to that city. The *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper in San Francisco, reviewed the book. Reviewer John Christopher Kim Fisher wrote:

"This compelling achievement should be read by all Black students,

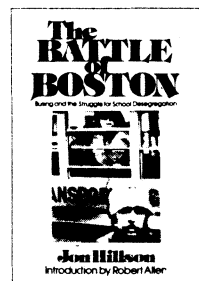
because it is factual and hard-hitting."

"... This short work should inspire one to sort out that evil known as racism and to destroy it. *The Battle of Boston* was written for and about

students with a cause, but it should be read by everyone who cares about human life and dignity."

Other brief reviews of *The Battle of Boston* have appeared in *Publishers Weekly* and *First World*.

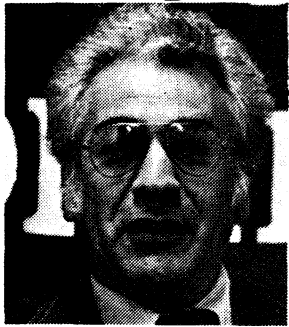
The Battle of Boston costs \$3.95, paperback. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or bought at the bookstores listed on page 31.



ATKINS

FUENTES

'Gays need a powerful, national movement'



The following is a statement by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

No one who participated in the June 25-26 gay rights marches could remain unmoved as some 250,000 lesbians and gay men told the world that they refuse to be driven back into the closet.

They were not only angry at the right-wing forces led by Anita Bryant, which steamrolled repeal of a gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida. The marchers—including the many heterosexual supporters of the movement—showed a readiness to continue the fight to abolish discrimination and to end prejudice against homosexuals.

Those mobilizations lifted the spirits of others whose rights are being bludgeoned by the government, the capitalist parties, the bankers, and the courts. They showed what effect a mass outpouring of humanity can have on morale and determination to fight back.

The gay rights demonstrations last month were in many ways spontaneous—a gut-level reaction to the Miami defeat and revulsion at Bryant and the "Save Our Children" bigots.

A broad range of organizations also united in coalitions in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Atlanta, and other cities to help focus the protests on the real political stakes in this struggle—human rights for lesbians and gay men.

At meetings of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights following the June 26 New York demonstration, I've been impressed by the intense desire of activists to find a way to sustain this new momentum.

The meetings are lively and purposeful. While debate is sharp, the right of all points of view to be heard is strictly respected. Overwhelmingly, coalition members share an understanding that a long, hard struggle is in the offing: one day of demonstrations is not enough.

With this in mind, the New York coalition has called for an August 20 march on the United Nations, to expose President Carter's hypocritical pronouncements on human rights, as well as to help excavate the long-buried New York gay rights bill, Intro 554.

Coalition members also see this as an important step for enlisting more activists and enabling gays to gain experience in building their own movement and winning allies in their struggle.

The Coalition for Human Rights in San Francisco has decided to sponsor a simultaneous protest in that city, where the United Nations was founded.

These activities are on the right track, one that leads toward organizing and coordinating the initial, and spontaneous reaction to the Dade County defeat into a powerful national movement to obtain justice and equality for gays and lesbians.

One idea being discussed among activists is to organize a national human rights march on Washington, D.C. A broadly supported demonstra-



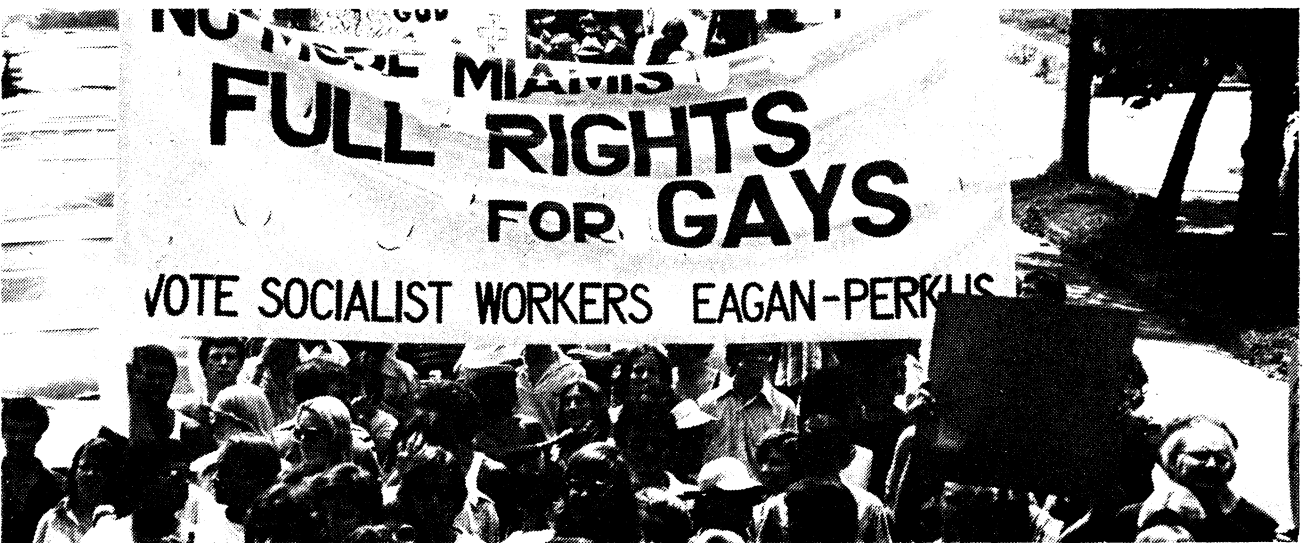
Militant/Karl Bermann

More than 2,000 people rallied for gay rights in Seattle, one of many actions held June 25-26.

tion in the nation's capital would be an unprecedented accomplishment for the gay rights movement and would provide a needed example for women, Blacks, and the unions. It could give impetus to ongoing local gay rights struggles as well as maximize national pressure on the federal government, which has actively stood in the way of gay rights.

Just last month the House of Representatives voted to deny federally funded legal assistance to low-income gays who want to fight for their rights in court.

For more than two years a House subcommittee has been sitting on a bill to amend the 1964 Civil Rights Act that would prohibit discrimination based on "sexual or affectional preference."



Militant/Richard Rathes

Socialist Workers Party members were among the 1,200 participants in Atlanta march and others across the country.

In 1976 the Supreme Court bowed to states outlawing homosexual acts between consenting adults.

Since he took office, President Carter has used neither his influence nor his power to aid gays. If he really supported human rights, he would issue executive orders barring discrimination in the military, upgrading the thousands of less-than-honorable discharges issued to gays, and eliminating existing antigay immigration policies.

As long as the federal government does not move to outlaw discrimination it helps foster an atmosphere in which right-wing bigots like Anita Bryant flourish.

Since the Dade County referendum and resulting protests have pushed the gay rights issue to the fore, some liberal Democratic and Republican politicians can be expected to tempt the gay movement with renewed campaign promises. The aim of these capitalist politicians will be to get the gay movement out of the streets and into the poll booths.

Their idea of a political party is one that lines up the people to vote on election day and then retires them from the field of action while the elected officials take care of business for the rich.

What reliance on the Democrats and Republicans has done for the Black and Puerto Rican movements, the women's movement, and the unions is to demobilize their independent power. It has led to hard-fought-for victories of the past being legislated away or struck down by courts.

Gays have also suffered from reliance on those in office.

These experiences prove that trusting Democrats and Republicans to protect the rights of the oppressed is like trusting a fox in a chicken coop.

The only way any oppressed group can assure respect for its rights is to organize a massive, visible movement independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Socialist Workers Party welcomes the new upsurge of the gay rights movement. Unlike our capitalist counterparts, we don't ask for a vote on election day and then walk away from the struggle.

We've learned that to obtain and preserve rights you've got to be prepared to fight every day of the year, including election day.

We pledge to be with lesbians and gay men in that struggle.

Lesbian mothers fight for their children

By Ginny Hildebrand

Last summer, Ginny Yaseen's six-year-old daughter Rachele spent the summer at her father's home in Springfield, Illinois. When vacation time ended, Rachele's father wouldn't allow her to return home. When Yaseen found out, she flew to Springfield and brought Rachele home to Denver.

Not long after that, Yaseen was thrown in jail for "abducting" her daughter, who had been in her legal custody since Yaseen's divorce four years earlier.

This was the beginning of a nine-month-long custody battle. Yaseen's qualifications as a fit mother were on trial because she is a lesbian.

While many women have faced similar nightmares, Yaseen's case is special: she fought back and won.

Although her ex-husband did not openly focus his charges on her sexual orientation, he and his lawyer alluded

to an "unnatural family constellation" and "unusual living situation" provided for Rachele.

Despite these innuendos, the judge ruled in April that Yaseen may retain custody of her daughter.

This victory is particularly important in light of the continuing efforts of Jeanne Jullion and Mary Jo Risher, who are also lesbians, to regain custody of their children.

In May, Jullion, of Oakland, California, lost custody of her youngest son Johnny while fighting in the courts to regain custody of her older son. Jullion shares a home with another woman and her four children.

On June 3, 250 people, mostly gay women, rallied at noon in San Francisco to support Jullion's appeal. Jullion told the crowd, "My mothering ability was never questioned, but I was attacked as an unfit parent merely because I am a lesbian."

In the massive June 26 Gay Freedom Day Parade in San Francisco, many signs demanded justice in Jullion's case.

In Dallas, Mary Jo Risher is appealing to the Texas Supreme Court for custody of her son Richard.

In December 1975, ten men and two women sitting on a Domestic Relations Court jury ruled that nine-year-old Richard had to leave his chosen home, consisting of his mother, her companion Ann Forman, and Forman's daughter.

To win support for her appeal and expose the witch-hunt nature of such antihomosexual trials, Risher has just written a book in collaboration with Gifford Guy Gibson. *By Her Own Admission*, published by Doubleday, includes transcripts of Risher's court testimony, a sharp indictment of antigay bigotry and injustice.

Stalinists squirm away from gay rights issue

By Ginny Hildebrand

When more than 250,000 people pour into the streets demanding human rights, you'd think every group calling itself "progressive" would stand up and cheer.

Not the Communist Party.

Its East Coast newspaper, the *Daily World*, didn't even acknowledge the June 25-26 mobilizations, while the West Coast *People's World* only squeezed in a lackluster three-paragraph report.

The reason is the demand of the protests—gay rights.

The few times CP leaders have commented on the repeal of a gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida, which sparked the demonstrations, they've dodged the central issue—human rights for lesbians and gay men.

For example, in the June 18 *People's World*, editor Carl Bloice warned readers to be "on guard" against reactionaries agitating around issues that "hold great potential for divisiveness and destabilization."

In particular, Bloice continued, the purpose of Anita Bryant's antigay campaign is "to make it appear that sexual mores and practices are the biggest question facing the nation; they will glory in the divisions the issue provokes. Anything to take our minds off the latest jobless figures or the fact that each day our paychecks buy even less."

The *Herald*, a New York community newspaper, recently quoted an article by CP leader Amadeo Richardson saying that Bryant's crusade aims to "whip up hysteria and fear in order to incapacitate and disarm masses of people from fighting against the crisis in everyday living; shove the issues of housing, jobs and peace under the rug."

The message is clear: The gay rights issue is just a diversion—shove it under the rug and stick to "real" working-class issues such as wages, housing, jobs, and peace.

But for genuine socialists, *gay rights is a working-class issue*.

Socialist aims are not limited to bigger paychecks and better housing. Our goal is to uproot capitalism and build a democratic, socialist society free of economic and social compulsions, including repressive sexual norms and laws that serve to distort all human sexual relations.

As the only social class capable of leading this transformation, the working class must champion the fight against all forms of oppression. This is how it will win allies and inspire humanity with the promise of a better world.

In today's society, gays face discrimination, harassment, ridicule, and even physical abuse. They are now mounting a fight for legal protection of their human rights. Working people, Blacks, and women—millions of whom are gay—have an important stake in this struggle.

This fact is particularly compelling when you look at the right-wing crusade against gays in the context of government attacks against women, Blacks, undocumented workers, and the living standards of all working people.

The government aims to relieve the capitalist economic crisis by making working people sacrifice. To accomplish this, the government must also curtail democratic rights, demoralize social movements, and encourage every variety of prejudice that helps to divide the working class.

But instead of standing up to anti-gay discrimination and prejudice, the Communist Party bends to it and at times even promotes it.

In the January 1971 *Political Affairs*, Carmen Ristorucci described



Jarvis Tyner mum on gay rights here and in Soviet Union.

gays as "a product of decaying capitalism which confuses and corrupts the minds of people."

More recently the CP has shied away from such public slander. Last year, the party's vice-presidential candidate, Jarvis Tyner, told the *Boston Gay Community News* that he didn't campaign for gay rights because, "We just don't believe in making an issue of people's private sexual lives."

But denial of human rights to gay men and lesbians is a political issue. Not only in the United States, but in the Soviet Union, too.

The 1971 *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* states that Soviet penal statutes "provide for the punishment of homosexuality," which it defines as "a sexual perversion."

This is in stark contrast to the policies of the early Bolshevik government led by Lenin and Trotsky. The Bolsheviks abolished laws that penalized people for their sexual behavior, including laws against homosexuality and abortion.

Later, the Stalinist bureaucracy consolidated its power and reintroduced antigay policies. Stalin's counterrevolutionary drive against gays went hand-in-hand with eliminating newly won gains for women, such as legal abortion, liquidating critics of the regime, and denying oppressed nationalities their rights.

Achieving gay rights in the Soviet Union will be one of the tasks of the workers movement there when it heaves out Stalin's heirs and establishes a socialist democracy.

As servile defenders of the policies of the Soviet bureaucrats, the U.S. Communist Party dares only apply a cosmetic coating to its own antigay face.

While the gay rights struggle here presents a dilemma for the CP, it is a shot in the arm for every real supporter of human rights.

Over the past year unionists, women, and Blacks have staggered under heavy blows against their rights. Last month, however, the gay movement provided an inspiring example for all working people, by boldly and proudly mobilizing to demand human rights.

In failing to applaud and actively encourage these militant gay rights actions, the Communist Party is revealing its own bigotry and its hostility to a significant new development in the class struggle.

Skyhorse-Mohawk trial

Prosecution witness exposes frame-up

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Another dirty maneuver by the prosecution has backfired in the frame-up murder trial of American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk.

Prosecutor Louis Samonsky brought to the stand a woman who had told one of his investigators, in a tape-recorded interview, that she had seen Paul Skyhorse at the murder scene. The tape was played for the jury.

But then the whole thing fell apart.

The witness, Carmel Mae Fish, had indeed arrived on the scene soon after the 1974 murder of cabdriver George Aird at a Ventura County camp used by Native Americans.

From the outset, in numerous police interviews and in sworn testimony before a grand jury she had insisted she had seen only two people there—Marvin Redshirt and Marcie Eaglestaff.

And in her testimony in the present trial she again swore that under oath.

Why then in 1976 did she say she had also seen Paul Skyhorse?

The answer to that question shows just how foul the system of "justice" is in this country—particularly as applied to Native Americans.

The killing occurred the night of October 10, 1974. The passengers in the murdered driver's cab had been Marvin Redshirt, his wife Holly Broussard, and a friend, Marcie Eaglestaff.

They have admitted that they had been drinking heavily, did not have the fare, and had taken over the cab.

They admitted beating and torturing the driver.

Initially charged with the murder, Redshirt and Broussard were let go after they swore—without a shred of substantiating evidence—that AIM activists Mohawk and Skyhorse were the killers.

Carmel Fish arrived back at the camp shortly after the killing. She later told police that she saw Redshirt and Eaglestaff standing over the body.

After several weeks of police interrogation, Fish returned to her home on a Wisconsin reservation. The Ventura district attorney's office told her that they didn't believe her story and that she would have to testify at the trial.

In 1976 Fish was convicted by a Wisconsin court on an assault charge. She was given six months in jail and a year of work probation.

During work probation, she left, going to Albuquerque. Stranded and broke, she called the Ventura prosecutor's office and said she would return to testify if they sent her the fare.

They readily agreed.

When she went to pick up the money at Western Union, she was arrested by Albuquerque cops, alerted by Ventura.

She was extradited back to Wisconsin on charges of "escaping."

Brought into the Wisconsin courtroom, she found waiting for her a man she knew well: Cruz Reyna, an investigator for the Ventura district attorney's office.

Sentence was postponed for a week, and she was returned to her cell.

In jail Reyna interrogated her once again. Throughout, she says, he kept pressing her to say that she saw others at the scene of the crime.

Finally she said that, yes, she had seen Skyhorse.

One part of the interview, including that statement, was taped by Reyna with a recorder concealed in his briefcase. Under Wisconsin law, the taping was probably illegal.

Immediately after Fish was sent-

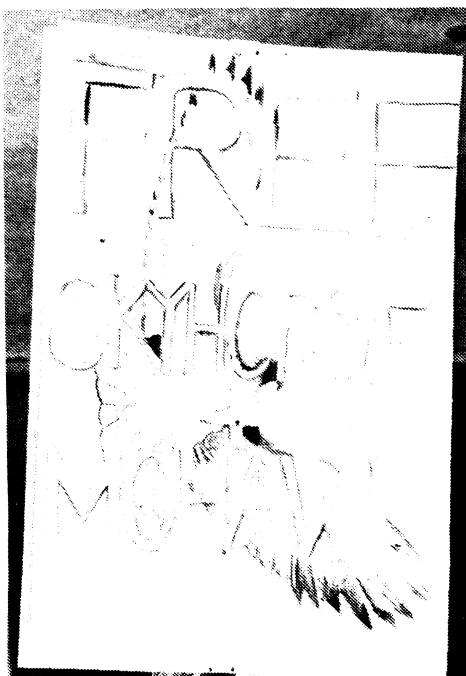
enced on the escape charge, she retracted. Her original story, she insisted, was the truth.

Keeping her on the witness stand for nearly a week, the prosecutor has resorted to every trick to force her to say that she had told the truth in prison and lied when she retracted.

Her reason, the prosecutor argued, is that she feared the defendants and feared AIM.

No, she replied, she did not fear them. *She feared the police.*

She had told investigator Reyna she had seen Skyhorse, she testified, only because she was in prison and frightened of what would be done to her.



Militant/Harry Ring

Picket at July 7 Los Angeles protest

Why was she so afraid of Reyna? Samonsky asked sarcastically. Did she think he would have the judge add a year to her sentence?

"I don't doubt it for a minute," she responded.

"I know my brothers are innocent," she told the court.

The prosecutor turned to one seeming inconsistency in her story.

In an early interview with Ventura police she had said she was fearful to testify "when they got out."

If she wasn't afraid of Skyhorse and Mohawk, why had she said this?

She had no plausible explanation.

Finally, under cross-examination by defense attorney Peter Young, a simple explanation was established. During the period she made the statement about being afraid of what would happen when "they" got out, Skyhorse and Mohawk had not yet been charged or arrested.

Redshirt and Broussard were in prison at the time.

Young returned to the question pressed so persistently by the prosecution. Was she in any way afraid of the members of AIM?

The entire courtroom was silent as she replied, "No, I love them all. They're my brothers and sisters."

...abortion

Continued from front page

It is the morality that singles out Black women, Chicanas, Puertorriqueñas, and young women to be the first victims in the steadily mounting government offensive against *all* women's right to abortion.

It is the morality that closes its eyes to the hundreds of women who without public funds will die each year from illegal abortions.

"There are many things in life that are unfair" in a society run for the profit of the wealthy few. In his six months in office, Carter's actions have made that quite clear to working people:

- Wealthy women will have doctors, while working-class women will have coat hangers;
- Big business will have profits, while poor people will be denied food stamps;
- Employers will be encouraged to break strikes, while strikers will be thrown off unemployment and their children denied welfare;
- Oil companies will get price hikes, while workers will learn to tighten their belts.

"There are many things in life that are not fair."

This is the Jimmy Carter who campaigned for office with the slogan: "Why not the best?" Now Carter says that this country—the richest in the world—cannot afford to give the best to all its citizens. In fact, the government does not *intend* to provide the best, or even equal opportunities.

Swayed by his campaign-trail promises to support women's rights, the pro-Democratic Party leaders of the women's movement backed Carter in 1976. Carter's openly anti-abortion stand was dismissed by leaders of the National Organization for Women, as they followed the strategy of "practical politics." While feminist leaders worked quietly to elect "prowomen" politicians, the anti-abortion forces took the offensive in the streets.

Carter's racist, sexist statement July 12 has shown women just how "practical" relying on Democratic and Republican politicians is. The attacks on abortion rights and affirmative action, the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, the denial of disability pay to pregnant women workers—these are the practical results of subordinating the independent struggle of women to the election needs of capitalist politicians.

Carter's bold challenge to abortion rights for working-class women is a probe to see how far the government can go in reversing abortion rights for all women.

A powerful counteroffensive by the women's movement and its supporters is vitally needed now to answer that challenge—a counteroffensive demanding safe, legal abortion for all women and no cutoffs in Medicaid funds. A visible campaign of picket lines, rallies, speakouts, and demonstrations can mobilize the victims of this new attack along with women's groups and their allies in the Black communities and the labor movement.

All working people have a stake in this fight. We cannot afford to let the wealthy minority in this country succeed in their offensive against women's rights.

Neutron bomb

Carter says that the poor have to do without some things that the wealthy can afford. But he's shoving the neutron bomb down our throats, whether we want it—or can afford it—or not.

That's because for the wealthy minority Carter serves, the neutron bomb is the perfect weapon. It can send hundreds of thousands of human beings to their deaths. But it does hardly any damage to property.

At his July 12 news conference, Carter refused to rule out first use of the neutron bomb by U.S. forces. "It ought to be one of our options," he said. The next day, the Senate voted fifty-eight to thirty-eight to finance development of Carter's fiendish new weapon.

Coupled with his decision last week to deploy the cruise missile, Carter's embrace of the neutron bomb shows once again that the full blame for every escalation of the nuclear arms race rests with Washington.

America's capitalist rulers need these weapons to defend their profits. But working people don't profit one bit from Washington's terrorism against the human race. American workers need to build a mass socialist movement that can disarm these nuclear terrorists once and for all.

And we cannot afford to fail.

Right wing behind Bryant

I picked up a copy of the July 1 *Militant* at the June 26 Hollywood Christopher Street West gay pride carnival. I must admit that you did a far better job than the *Advocate* (the national gay publication) in explaining the Miami gay rights ordinance's disastrous defeat on June 7.

The Miami disaster and Anita Bryant's national crusade against the gay minority transformed the gay movement overnight into a mass movement for human rights and against economic and personal repression.

While national attention has focused on Anita Bryant, some of us are starting to ask questions about *who* is behind Bryant's crusade.

In a series of articles appearing in the June 15, 29, and July 23 *Advocate*, assistant editor Sasha Gregory-Lewis gave a lot of evidence linking a "new right" to the Equal Rights Amendment defeat and the Bryant crusade. She believes that a two-and-a-half-year-old Virginia-based outfit called the Conservative Caucus is the real power behind the ERA defeat and the antigay crusade.

Individuals linked by Ms. Gregory-Lewis to the "new right" such as Senators Hatch and Helms, Governor Thomson (New Hampshire), Phyllis Schlafly, Howard Phillips, and especially Richard Viguerie (the fundraising wizard of the far right) are really puppets of businessmen and industrialists who want to grab control of the U.S. government and force the present moderate capitalists out of power.

The right knows that it will never get the support of the people on conservative economics, so they use racism, religion, sexism, and drugs to attract large numbers of people to their cause who would never support them for economic reasons.

The Miami referendum against the gay minority convinced them that homosexuality is a red-hot issue—the *one* issue that large numbers of people can become totally irrational about. They are now launching a national witch-hunt against the gay minority, using Bryant as a figurehead.

Craig Alfred Hanson
Escondido, California

Rightists don't fly right

While I was sitting at the literature table of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, a gentleman approached and scanned the literature with raised eyebrow. When asked if he was interested in anything in particular, he replied that he "was so far to the right" that he "only flew in airplanes with two right wings."

We felt that he had quite accurately summed up the validity of right-wing political thought: it has about as much chance of correctly analyzing political change as an airplane with two right wings has of flying.

Jerry Swanson
Amherst, Massachusetts

Racism at IWY convention

In the July 1 issue of the *Militant*, some information was omitted from my report to the New Mexico International Women's Year convention.

The *Militant* noted that Isabel Blea charged that racism pervaded the convention, but nothing in the article indicated whether this was an accurate accusation.

It was. In fact, the chairwoman of the IWY banquet, Francis Williams, made such overtly racist and sexist remarks that a number of Chicanas have organized women to visit Governor Apodaca to demand that Williams be removed from the New Mexico Commission on the Status of Women.

In the last Albuquerque National Organization for Women meeting we discussed the problem of racism at the IWY and voted to work with the group going to the governor's office and, in addition, to send him a letter protesting Williams's racist and sexist remarks.

As the *Militant* noted, Isabel Blea is a member of the Raza Unida Party. She is also the state chairperson of the RUP and her party's candidate for governor of New Mexico in the 1978 race.

Lynn Rashkind
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Birth control not safe

Mary-Alice Waters and Cindy Jaquith in effect make an assertion in the following characterization of the significance of birth control to women, (*Militant*, July 8, 1977): "With the advance of science, safe and effective birth control became possible for the first time in history, but the norms and laws of U.S. society sought to keep women in the dark ages, unable to control their reproductive lives."

In fact, much of modern birth control is *not* safe, or is safe with a trade-off in effectiveness. It would probably be more accurate to say that modern birth control methods are *relatively* more safe than previously available techniques, but that the contradiction still remains between the potential of science and its application for the health of women.

The same attitudes toward women and forces promoting them discussed in the rest of the article (that we are expendable incubators) are rampant in the pharmaceutical industry.

Much of the recent effort of the feminist movement with regard to this issue has been to expose the unsafe nature of birth control for women. It would strengthen the excellent and concise analysis of these two writers to alter their formulation in accordance with these efforts, which would, in fact, be right on the beam of their analysis itself.

Too often socialists are accused of being uncritical admirers of the advances of technology, and it is important that we recognize the all-too-frequent distortions of its potential visited upon humanity by the antihuman profiteers who now control it.

Sara Smith
Washington, D.C.

Jim Wysocki

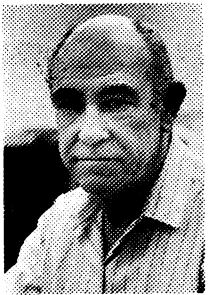
Jim Wysocki, a former member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, died of cancer in his hometown of Stevens Point, Wisconsin, on July 4 at the age of twenty-seven.

In every respect, Jim was an exemplary representative of the generation of young militants who came to question the criminal injustices of American capitalism during the 1960s.

Coming from a working-class family, he first became acquainted with socialist ideas shortly after graduation from high school. During the 1968 presidential campaign, he saw a television appearance by the Socialist

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Benefits for B-1 workers

Workers Party candidate for governor of Wisconsin and wrote to the Madison local of the YSA for more information on the campaign. He attended the 1968 YSA convention in Chicago and shortly thereafter began making the three-hour drive each week from his hometown to Madison in order to attend forums and classes on socialism.

In June 1969, at the request of the Madison YSA, Jim moved to Madison, where he very quickly became active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. As a member of AFSCME Local 1, he introduced the first resolution against the war passed by a union local in Wisconsin.

Soon after his arrival in Madison, Jim was elected to the executive committee of the Madison YSA local and, within a year, he became the organizer of the local. His uncommon good judgment, efficient attention to practical matters, and boundless energy contributed much to the local's success. At the 1970 YSA convention in New York City Jim was elected to the YSA National Committee.

In 1970, at considerable personal sacrifice, but without hesitation, Jim moved to Milwaukee to participate in building the foundation for a branch of the Socialist Workers Party. He also served as organizer of the Milwaukee YSA chapter, and in 1971 he moved to Houston to help strengthen the SWP branch in that city.

Jim eventually resigned from the SWP, but he never abandoned his faith in and commitment to the socialist vision of a new society without exploitation, a society based upon developing the fullest potential of humanity.

As his many friends and comrades will recall, Jim possessed that elusive kind of engaging personality that could elicit the best from everyone he came into contact with. His often wry sense of humor, together with a maturity that clearly transcended his age, helped many comrades to overcome the personal problems that often attend one's existence as a revolutionary militant.

We will miss him.

Pat Quinn
Chicago, Illinois

Back to slavery?

It might interest your readers to know that a certain member of the North Carolina legislature from the eastern part of the state (he remained unidentified in the press) recently introduced a bill on the floor of the state House that amounted to reinstituting slavery.

The measure would have forced tenant farmers who were delinquent in paying rent to work without pay on the farm of their landlord for seven years. Needless to say, most tenant farmers in North Carolina are Black. He said the bill would make tenants be more efficient in their payment of rent.

The bill was withdrawn when the local media discovered it.

Charles A. Gimon
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

One of the oldest arguments for arms spending is that munitions factories create jobs. This was never the real reason for weapons appropriations. But it is still used, mostly from habit, by the war hawks in Congress.

And, as a rule, it is faithfully echoed by union officials who collect dues from workers in the war industries.

A welcome departure from this traditional response was the surprise announcement July 4 by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser that he is asking the Defense Department to provide extra unemployment benefits for workers laid off because production of the B-1 bomber has been canceled. Usually union officials say nothing in such circumstances, but look anxiously for a chance to sign a new wage contract in another branch of the death-dealing industry.

Fraser's choice of July 4 to make his announcement was probably meant to underline his patriotic intentions, just in case there should be any doubts on that score.

What he said was sound enough, as far as it went. "Workers deserve the same considerations the federal government provides the corporations," Fraser said in a telegram to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

"Just as the corporations affected are provided with funds as the project phases down, we believe the Defense Department has an obligation to ease the transition for the workers. Money should be made available immediately," Fraser said, "for supplemental unemployment benefits for those unemployed as a result of this decision."

He noted that "the federal government did not cut off all funds for Rockwell International the day after the B-1 decision, yet thousands of loyal workers have been laid off with little prospect of new employment."

The UAW represents about 5,000 of these workers who will soon be out of work.

The International Association of Machinists also represents workers in the aerospace industry. Al-

though less directly involved than the UAW with Rockwell International—the prime contractor for the B-1—the IAM nonetheless was on record for the project and helped lobby for it in Congress.

Newly elected IAM President William Winpisinger is likely to join Fraser in the demand for supplemental unemployment benefits. Before the project was eliminated, Winpisinger said, "personally and morally I'm absolutely opposed to the B-1."

What are the chances of winning this demand?

Congress has appropriated \$36.1 billion to develop and produce weapons in fiscal 1978. So there ought to be plenty of money to help a few thousand workers who lost out because of the B-1 cancellation.

After all, Congress is generous when it comes to handouts in the war industries. Only a few weeks ago the House Rules Committee frowned on a bill that would have increased the authority of the federal auditing office to recapture excessive profits collected by corporations in the arms business.

The bill was introduced by Joseph Minish (D-N.J.), who claimed that it would save \$1 billion annually in overpayments. Government auditors, under present rules, recover \$40 million a year. But some members of Congress think this is a big nuisance and ought to be discontinued because it discourages "free enterprise."

Jimmy Quillean (R-Tenn.) is one of them. "If we beef up these bureaucrats," says Quillean, "we're going to have government in every minute of our lives. And then comes socialism."

Logic counts for little in Congress, and some think that this being the case, anything can happen there. But with the labor-cost watchers and the Quillean sentinels against socialism on guard, it is doubtful that Congress will grant Fraser's request. The Defense Department will hesitate to lay out cash, especially for unemployed workers, without congressional approval.

Fraser had a good idea. It should be supported by all fair-minded people. The trouble is that Congress won't understand it.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Water, water everywhere...

Water—the most plentiful compound on earth. Seventy percent of the human body. And polluted, polluted, polluted.

Streams, rivers, lakes, and oceans have been favorite dumps for industrial wastes, municipal sewage, and toxic chemicals and garbage of every description. Oil spills add to the mess. Even radioactive wastes are dropped into the oceans.

The chickens are coming home to roost. Years of disregard of the earth's water are taking a serious toll.

Lake Erie is dead. "Red tide" closes fisheries and clam beds in New England. Beaches are closed. Drinking water in hundreds of thousands of communities may be fouled by cancer-causing chemicals.

Water pollution is a constant threat. Because so many factories simply empty their waste into rivers and other waterways, an accident can have serious health side effects.

The Louisville, Kentucky, sewage treatment plant was closed for more than two months after toxic chemicals were dumped in the city's sewage system. Shutting the plant meant allowing 100 million gallons a day of raw sewage to pour into the Ohio River.

Private industry is responsible for much of the water pollution, because the cheapest way to dispose of wastes is to just let them go into a nearby river or lake.

Take Reserve Mining in Minnesota. Reserve has dropped 67,000 tons of mining wastes each day into Lake Superior. These wastes contain asbestos, a known carcinogen.

Despite lawsuits, threats, and promises, Reserve will be dumping these taconite tailings into the lake until 1980.

U.S. Steel recently got hit with \$3.5 million in fines for polluting Lake Michigan. The company had been adding up to 775 million gallons a day of polluted liquids to the lake that supplies Chicago's drinking water.

The waste included 7,000 pounds of cyanide, 6,000 pounds of ammonia, fluorides, chlorides, sulfates, and other chemicals.

U.S. Steel—which netted \$27.4 million in the first quarter of 1977—will have to put in a \$70-million water treatment facility and stop polluting the lake. By 1980.

Allied Chemical used Virginia's James River to get rid of its kepone wastes. Kepone is a deadly chemical used in insecticides. After many kepone workers got very ill, the plant was shut down. But the James River may never recover.

Fish and shellfish from the river had to be declared off limits for human consumption. But in a farsighted move to protect the state's economy, the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) simply raised allowable kepone levels, thus putting James River fish back on your table!

New Orleans has long been known for its poor tap water, which often smells bad and sometimes comes out yellow.

Not until 1972 did someone figure out why. The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration found forty-six organic compounds in the Mississippi River, from which New Orleans draws its drinking water.

New Orleans also has a cancer death rate 32 percent above the national average.

In 1974 Dr. Robert Harris of the Environmental Defense Fund made the connection between the water and the high cancer mortality rate. He estimated that carcinogens in the water caused 20 percent of the cancer deaths.

A few days later, the EPA announced it had found 66 chemicals in the water. The list is now up to 112 and may reach 900.

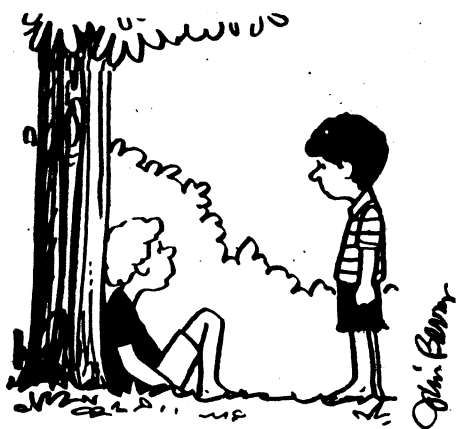
Ironically, the city's attempts to clean the water with chlorine made it worse. Chlorine interacted with the other chemicals and formed carcinogens that hadn't been there in the first place.



Communications gap—Another bit of President Carter's wisdom: "During the campaign, many of the observers of my effort said I was so fuzzy on the issues that they couldn't understand what I was saying. Since I've become president, people have an almost exact capability of discerning what I said during the campaign."

Unpopularity poll—According to Gallup, only 42 percent of those surveyed after the first Nixon-Frost interview disliked Nixon intensely. That compares with 50 percent a year ago.

Disneyland East—We're intrigued by the possibilities of the projected



'The thing that bothers me most about growing old is the probability of becoming an unemployed teen-ager!'

Saturday tours of CIA headquarters. (Saturdays because most of the low-profile agents are off that day.) They're currently planning guided tours plus a movie. But consider a spooky boat ride through dimly lit tunnels featuring skeletons, lunging figures with daggers, and presidential money being laundered along the banks.

New federal crackdown—Swift & Co. pleaded guilty to providing an army hospital with hams contaminated by rat manure. A federal district judge fined the company \$500.

Different view—If her parents had been on welfare, Patricia Hearst would

have served less than ninety days, says California Attorney General Younger. If there is a double standard of justice for rich and poor, he said, it's the reverse of what people assume. Younger, however, may have a somewhat different conception of rich and poor. For instance, he also said he was "flat broke" trying to live on \$42,500 a year.

Hang in there, good buddies—After you've been off the weed for ten years, your chance of getting lung cancer is nearly as low as that of people who never smoked. For smokers, the lung cancer mortality rate is ten times greater.

The American Way of Life

Prison fires: cruel but not unusual

When you talk about prisons, you're talking about brutality. Just how brutal was shown recently by fires in Tennessee and Danbury, Connecticut.

The first was June 26 in the Maury County Jail in Columbia, Tennessee. Cyanide fumes and carbon monoxide from burning cell padding were blown through the ventilation system, killing thirty-four prisoners and eight visitors. All of the other prisoners were injured, some critically.

When the fire broke out, visitors rushed to the locked door of the jail lobby, knocking the keys from the hand of the sheriff's deputy on guard. The prisoners were stuck inside while officials scrambled for the keys. It was twelve minutes before they found them. A duplicate set of keys was hanging on the wall in the jailer's office, but no one thought to get them.

As it turns out, the jail had no established fire-rescue procedures. When asked about it, the sheriff answered, "We thought we had a fireproof jail."

The county's fire prevention procedures weren't too good either. The vinyl-coated, plastic-foam

padding that burned had been considered nonflammable. But state fire officials admit they had known for two years that the tests used on the foam "may not have been appropriate."

Most of the prisoners in the jail had not even been convicted of a crime. Andrew Zimmer, the sixteen-year-old in the cell where the fire started, was being held as a runaway from Wisconsin. Now he is being charged with arson.

The July 7 fire at the federal prison in Danbury killed five prisoners and injured seventy-one. The guards there were more alert. They didn't drop any keys. Instead, a guard came running and locked a previously unlocked emergency door when he saw people trying to flee the flames and smoke. After all, his job is to make sure no one escapes.

The cellblock where the fire took place was built for 500 prisoners; 839 were kept there at the time.

No one could remember if there had ever been a fire drill there. The acting warden said he had "no knowledge of any fire drill in the last six months."

None of the prisoners at Danbury were serving more than a ten-year term. The five who died were

in for such things as forgery, drug violations, and burglary—not usually capital offenses.

But the dehumanizing, overcrowded, unsafe conditions in U.S. prisons make sure the real sentence is more than just the years involved. Prisons are cages where the rulers of this country lock away some of the most oppressed of us to serve as examples for the rest to stay in line. The whole prison system should be abolished.

There have been several court suits in recent years aimed at relieving some of the worst aspects of prison life.

A year and a half ago, a federal judge found Alabama prisons to be "barbaric and inhumane." One prison had bunks "packed together so closely that there is no walking space between them [and] mattresses spread on floors in hallways and next to urinals." The judge ordered state officials to do something about it.

Former Gov. George Wallace protested, charging the changes would create a "hotel atmosphere."

Hotels sometimes catch fire, too. But at least hotels have fire escapes.

—Dean Elder

By Any Means Necessary

Boston teachers and busing

The following is a guest column by Jeff Bustos.

BOSTON—The publication on June 7 of a poll evaluating the attitudes of Boston public school teachers toward three years of court-ordered school desegregation here has exploded a number of myths propagated by racist, antibusing forces. The survey shows that a teacher's age, race, religion, and length of service in the schools are the factors most closely associated with strong positive or negative attitudes toward desegregation.

The 100-page report was commissioned by the City-wide Coordinating Council, an agency appointed by U.S. District Judge W. Arthur Garrity to monitor his 1974 busing order.

"One of the report's most encouraging findings," Boston School Committee candidate Hattie McCutcheon pointed out, "is that a new teacher coalition seems to be emerging in the schools, comprised mainly of Black, women, and younger teachers."

McCutcheon, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, cited statistics showing that this group of teachers sees the court order as having a positive

effect on education. For example, the majority of Black teachers questioned—more than 72 percent—feel Garrity's rulings have improved the quality of education. Teachers under thirty-five also saw improvements since 1974.

In contrast, as reported in the June 8 *Boston Globe*, "Male teachers, teachers of Irish Catholic ancestry, teachers over 55 and teachers with more than 20 years experience in Boston schools were more pessimistic."

Especially significant was the report's finding that teachers, by a two-to-one margin—51 percent to 23 percent—agreed with the statement, "The changes ordered by the court may lead to some short term disruption, but in the long run they'll turn out to be good for the schools."

An even larger majority, 55 percent to 20 percent, agreed that if the federal court had not intervened, the Boston School Committee "would never have solved the problem on its own."

On one question the teachers were nearly unanimous, laying to rest one of the popular myths of the racist antibusing movement. An overwhelming 92 percent described as "false" the statement

John Hawkins



that "students are so upset as a result of the court order that they cannot concentrate on their studies."

Bob Pearlman, an activist in the Boston Teachers Union who ran a prodesegregation campaign for executive board of the union and is a delegate to this year's American Federation of Teachers convention, commented on the significance of the study. "There are two factors that have led to the development that a majority of the teachers now support desegregation, even though the union has yet to take an outright stand," he said. "One is the perception that desegregation is here to stay, and this has led to a psychological adjustment."

"Secondly, many teachers, including the union leadership, have seen that in practice, the antibusing forces are antischools. They have seen ROAR [Restore Our Alienated Rights] and other groups proposing even greater cutbacks in the school budget this year than the mayor's office, and they know this is an effort to destroy the schools."

"And the strongest fighters against the cutbacks and layoffs are the probusing teachers and parents."

The Supreme Court

Robed reactionaries of the ruling rich

By Frank Lovell

Mr. Dooley, the apocryphal barroom philosopher, wisely observed many years ago that the Supreme Court follows the election returns.

Today he would have to add that the court also tries to anticipate election returns, in accordance with the shifting political needs of the ruling rich.

The Court, of course, does not rule the country single-handedly. It shares control with Congress, the president, and the twin political parties of big business that run all three.

However, the Court's decisions this year have more directly affected the lives of millions of people than anything Congress or the White House have done so far.

The Court has handed down rulings that will significantly change relations between groups of people and social classes—between whites on one side and Blacks and other minorities on the other, between the working poor and better-off workers, between working-class women and wealthy women, and between workers and employers.

In all these decisions, the Court has fed the appetite of reaction and restricted the liberating struggles of working people.

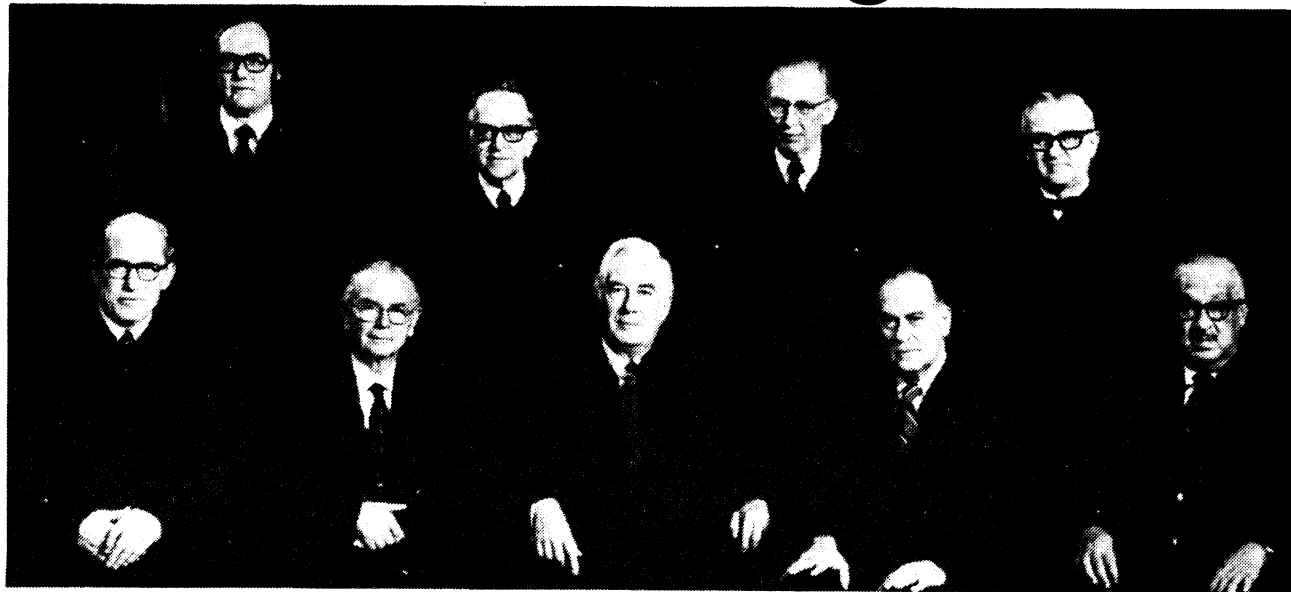
The heaviest blows were dealt to newly acquired civil rights for oppressed minorities and women. In a ruling last May, the Court held that discriminatory seniority systems initiated prior to the 1964 Civil Rights Act are exempt from that law.

The impact of this decision was to further divide the working class and alienate minority workers from the union movement. Nonetheless, top labor officials hailed the ruling.

A ruling last December allowed a private employer to refuse sick pay to women absent because of pregnancy.

In both the seniority and pregnancy decisions, the justices greatly weakened Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which supposedly outlaws race and sex discrimination in employment.

Another ruling against women, on June 20, upheld the "states' rights" doctrine that neither the Constitution nor any federal law requires states to use Medicaid funds or even public-hospital facilities



for elective abortions.

This hits both working women and the unions. The women of poor families—those who cannot afford an abortion—are effectively deprived of that right. And by upholding the "states' rights" doctrine in this case, the Court reinforced the stance of the antilabor, "right to work" states.

Several cases involving school desegregation were decided against the interests of minority students. The justices have begun to insist that deliberate intent to segregate schools must be proved before court-ordered busing or other measures are justified. They have also applied this new "intent" yardstick in cases dealing with job and housing discrimination.

In a Dayton, Ohio, case the Court questioned whether the evidence of segregation in that city's schools warranted the court-ordered city-wide busing plan that has been in effect there since last fall. While allowing the plan to stand for another year, the justices sent it back for review by the lower court.

The Dayton ruling effectively restricts the scope

of court-ordered desegregation. Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, says it "took most of the teeth" out of previous Court positions.

In another case the Court deprived workers who are unemployed because of a "labor dispute"—even though they themselves are not on strike—from collecting unemployment benefits and other welfare assistance. The justices upheld an Ohio state law that had barred unemployment benefits to a steelworker laid off because of a coal mine strike in another state.

The kindly justices also upheld a Maryland state law that denies federal aid to dependent children when the father is on strike, gets fired, or quits work.

In all these rulings, the Supreme Court demonstrates that it can be the most readily available weapon of the employing class, a branch of government invaluable to the bosses in their drive to cut labor costs at the expense of workers.

The court makes it legal to rob . . . as long as the bosses can get away with it.

NEA convention defends right of 'alien' children to education

By Bruce Kimball

MINNEAPOLIS—The 1.8-million member National Education Association is now on record in support of the right of children of immigrants without visas—the so-called illegal aliens—to free public education.

This makes the NEA one of the first national labor organizations that has refused to go along with the anti-"alien" hysteria campaign being promoted by the government and big-business press.

Bruce Kimball is a teacher and a building representative in the Harlandale Teachers Association in San Antonio, Texas.

On the final day of its convention held here July 1-6, the nearly 8,000 delegates from NEA affiliates approved the following motion.

"The NEA rejects the use of citizenship as a basis for denying any child the right to a free public education.

"The NEA will use its resources to oppose legislation, already introduced in several states, that has the effect of denying a free public education to children of immigrants without visas."

Lorenzo Monroy of the South San Antonio (Texas) Teachers Association introduced the motion on the floor of the convention. "We've heard many pleas for human rights here," he said. "The same should apply to these children."

Monroy is a member of the NEA's Chicano-Hispanic Caucus, whose seventy-five members unanimously approved the position at an earlier meeting.

That the item was introduced by a member of the Texas delegation is particularly significant. Last March the Texas State Teachers Association, the NEA's largest state affiliate, overwhelmingly approved a resolution advocating denial of a free, public education to children of immigrants without visas, mostly Mexicans who have come to this country in search of jobs.

While the NEA's new position is confined to the educational rights of these children, it is an important step in countering the government's hysterical drive against "illegal aliens."

This was obvious from the floor discussion. Those who spoke against the item included a delegate from Colorado who warned of "the vast invasion of illegal aliens," a delegate from Indiana who said it "was going against the Constitution," and a delegate from Texas who said "we have to take care of our own first."

These arguments were countered by John Fitta, president of the Taunton (Massachusetts) Education Association. In a speech that received much applause, he argued that all except Native Americans are the descendants of immigrants, and that all children have the right to an education.

"As teachers, we could not walk out of here with our heads held up if we don't pass this item," he concluded.

The motion passed by a slim majority, requiring three votes before chairperson John Ryor, president of the NEA, ruled that it carried.

The next step for teachers who are interested in defending the rights of undocumented workers will be to urge the NEA to carry out its new position.

One delegate suggested that the NEA have a spokesperson at the national Chicano conference on immigration and other issues initiated by Raza Unida Party leader José Angel Gutiérrez. That conference is scheduled to be held in San Antonio October 28-30.

Other delegates suggested that the Chicano conference take up the question of how the schools are affected by this country's immigration policies.

For example, a Phoenix teacher said that the Immigration and Naturalization Service there has been trying to obtain school records of the migrant education program so they could check on the children's legal status.

Several teachers endorsed Gutiérrez's Call to Action and said they planned to help publicize the conference in their area.

Iran repression hit



NEW YORK—Some 1,500 demonstrators rallied across the street from the Pierre Hotel here July 8, while inside Empress Farah of Iran received an award from the "Appeal to Conscience Foundation" for her "efforts to raise the status of women." The protesters, mostly members of different Iranian Students Association groupings, wore masks to conceal their identities from the FBI and the SAVAK, the Iranian secret police. Two days earlier 500 students at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles had protested while the empress was given an honorary doctorate of humane letters. On July 12, accompanied by Rosalynn Carter, the empress attended a luncheon in Washington, D.C., for the wives of U.S. and Iranian government officials. During the luncheon, more than 1,000 people demonstrated on Pennsylvania Avenue against the shah's regime. The Iranian regime, installed through a CIA-backed coup in the early 1950s, is one of the world's most repressive regimes, and totally denies equal rights to women.

A visit to a New York abortion clinic

By Gale Shangold

NEW YORK—On the second floor at Bellevue hospital, a plastic wall plaque reads, "Abortion Clinic, Clinica de Abortos." Bellevue is one of the main public hospitals here.

"What do you think about the government's attempts to take away Medicaid payments for abortions?" I asked a Puerto Rican woman who was waiting in the clinic with her four-year-old son.

"It's not fair," she told me. "A lot of women use Medicaid to get abortions. They can't afford it any other way."

"They would either have to somehow come up with the money or find another way to have the abortion. They will get it done on the side. There are people who will do it to make some extra money. I heard they do it with a coat hanger."

A uniformed staff worker stopped to talk to us. She couldn't believe the government would cut off Medicaid-funded abortions. "What would all those women do?" she asked. She told us that it

costs \$280 a day to get an abortion at Bellevue.

The Puerto Rican woman told me it was her first abortion. "I am entitled to Medicaid and I am going to use it," she declared. "It costs a lot of money to raise a child."

One of the patients I talked to planned to pay for her abortion; another had insurance. But they both agreed that Medicaid funds shouldn't be cut off.

"Abortion shouldn't be a privilege for just those who can afford it," said a young Black woman who was waiting for a birth control appointment.

"The government doesn't want poor people to have control of their lives. It is their right, their bodies; why should these 'right-to-lifers' care?" she asked. "They say it is taking a life. I say it is none of their business!"

Another woman had just finished her appointment, after hours of waiting. But she readily sat down to tell me about her experiences.

"I have a daughter and I am not married. It's been very hard," she told me. "If I were to have another child, it would upset me to have to give it up for adoption. So I am relieved that they haven't cut off Medicaid funds yet."

"When abortion first became legal, Medicaid didn't pay for it. I was forced to have a baby I wasn't ready for. I love my daughter, but it has changed my life. I was sixteen at the time I got pregnant. I almost didn't finish high school. I had to work part-time. It has been one big hassle," she continued.

"Now I am twenty-one. I take care of my daughter and work part-time for a photographer. I make practically nothing. It's hard to find a decent job."

"They just expect women to take on so much. I don't know what they expect us to do—have children, be on welfare?"

"When I went in to the social worker today I was so nervous. But the women told me that I qualified for Medicaid. I am so relieved."

Medicaid cuts hit

'Abortion is a woman's right to choose!'

Detroit

By Marty Pettit

DETROIT—The Detroit chapter of the National Organization for Women called a noon picket line here July 1 to protest recent congressional and Supreme Court attacks on Medicaid for abortions.

Nearly 100 spirited protesters marched and shouted: "Two, four, six, eight; separate church and state!" and "Three, five, seven, nine; abortion rights are on the line!"

Women participated from three area NOW chapters; Westside Mothers, a welfare rights group; Women Against Inhumane Legislation, a new abortion rights group; Planned Parenthood; United Auto Workers; and other groups.

Sue Temerowski, NOW's vice-president for political action, told reporters from the three television stations covering the event: "The recent legislative and judicial decisions would ban abortions for poor women. . . . We all know what this means—back to the back alley, where women are killed and maimed. These decisions are breaking down the landmark 1973 decision on abortion, eroding abortion rights."

Standing on the sidelines of the protest were four burly white men from Breakthrough, a local fascist-like group led by Donald Lobsinger. They held a banner reading: "Abortion is still murder. Support Christian resistance."

At a moment when the pickets paused in their march, Lobsinger led his thugs right into the center of the demonstration. At the same time, one of his goons grabbed the microphone and started yelling "Abortion is murder!" at the top of his lungs.

Leaders of the picket line quickly reorganized the marchers, recovered the microphone, and led a chant: "Abortion is a woman's right to choose!"

Lobsinger repeated his attempt to break up the picket line two or three more times. But demonstrators were able to continue their protest.

NOW leader Jean Sheahan received several bruised ribs when one of the right-wingers grabbed the microphone from her. She has filed charges with the Detroit police.

The July 1 picket line was the culmination of a week-long series of abortion rights activities here. On June 27, the Macomb County chapter of NOW organized a vigil on the state capitol steps in Lansing, drawing 100 women.



Detroit picket line July 1 protests attacks on Medicaid-funded abortions.

On June 30 a news conference was held, featuring Detroit City Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey; Howard Simon, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union here; and Etheline Crockett, a prominent Black gynecologist.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, Trudy Hawkins, has also released a statement on the new attacks. "Decisions about abortions must remain in the hands of women," Hawkins said. "The forces that lead the crusade against abortion rights are the same as those who rejoiced when democratic rights were stripped from gays in Dade County. . . . Their aim is to force society backwards."

Louisville

By Amy Husk

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Representatives of abortion rights groups successfully concluded a strategy meeting here July 7, despite attempts by forty anti-abortion pickets to break up their gathering.

Seventy-five people turned out for the abortion rights meeting, which had been publicized through a news conference the week before. Organizations

represented included the National Organization for Women, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Planned Parenthood, Metro-Louisville Women's Political Caucus, and Socialist Workers Party.

Anti-abortion demonstrators picketed outside the church where the meeting was held and then came in to disrupt the gathering. After attempts to speak above the noise of the intruders proved futile, the meeting was moved to a nearby private apartment. Fifty of the abortion rights supporters resumed their discussion at the new location.

During the meeting, Suzy Post of the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union described the close alliance between anti-abortion groups and other anti-Black, antiwoman, and antigay forces.

The actions of the anti-abortion pickets outside made her point graphically clear. After forcing their way into the apartment building and upstairs to where the meeting was being held, the right-wingers were told to leave the building. Before leaving, they shouted "nigger!" several times at the Black elevator operator and the Black security guard. They also gave a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan calling card to the woman who made her apartment

available for the meeting.

Inside the meeting, abortion rights supporters voted to form a Louisville chapter of the Reproductive Freedom League. Jessica Schikler, chairperson of the newly formed group, announced tentative plans for an abortion rights rally here July 25.

Before the meeting adjourned, special thanks was extended to the Lesbian Feminist Union, which brought twenty women to the meeting to lend support after hearing of the right-wing disruption.

Phoenix

By Jill Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—The Maricopa County Board of Supervisors has wasted no time in responding to the U.S. Supreme Court decision on government funding for abortions. The court ruled on June 20 that states and counties do not have to provide Medicaid to low-income women who need abortions.

Even before the scheduled Maricopa County board meeting here June 29, four out of five supervisors had already announced they would vote to end funding for abortions at the Maricopa County Hospital.

During the past year, public funds enabled 800 women to obtain abortions at the county hospital.

The supervisors' meeting was picketed by supporters of abortion rights, organized by the Phoenix chapter of the National Organization for Women. Opponents of abortion also demonstrated. Both picket lines were approximately forty people.

More than 300 people attended the hearing. By a display of hands, the crowd appeared to be evenly split on the issue of abortion rights.

Lea Goodman Smith, spokesperson for NOW, said, "We must not fiscally subvert what is a constitutionally guaranteed right for all women, and not just for some."

Jessica Sampson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix, called the attempt to restrict abortion funds "racist and discriminatory," a "first step toward eliminating abortion rights for all women."

After hearing two-and-a-half hours of testimony, the supervisors agreed to delay their decision until July 18 so that the issue can be reviewed by the county board of health.

Women are urging a big turnout at the July 18 supervisors' meeting to demonstrate the strength of abortion rights supporters.

Dawson 5: racist frame-up on shaky ground

By Don Davis

DAWSON, Ga.—Those who say racism has something to do with the Dawson Five case, says the local district attorney, are “trying to incite people to think we’re living in the Dark Ages here.”

The fact is that Terrell County does a darned good imitation of the Dark Ages.

As recently as 1969 county officials were saying they could not find a single Black qualified to sit on a jury. The southwest Georgia county is nearly 70 percent Black now, yet not a single Black holds an elected city or county office.

The 1970 census said 58.3 percent of Black families here had incomes below the poverty level. The median income for Black women was \$1,250 a year, and one-third of them worked as domestics. The average Black man had dropped out of school in the sixth grade, the average Black woman in the eighth.

Civil rights workers in the 1960s labeled it “Terrible Terrell” for the brutality of the racist response to the Black rights movement. Those who dared challenge the county’s medieval ways were beaten, jailed, harassed, and fired from their jobs. Homes and churches were bombed.

In nearby Sylvester, a twelve-year-old Black girl who tried to integrate the schools was put in jail for three months. Terrell County schools remain segregated today, with most white children attending all-white private schools.

It was in this haven of racial harmony that on January 22, 1976, a white ranch foreman, Gordon “Bubba” Howell, sixty-two, was shot to death in a country grocery owned by another white man, Linward “Tiny” Denton.

A week later, five young Black men, ranging in age from sixteen to twenty, were arrested and charged with murder. Prosecutors said they would ask for the death penalty.

Denton told police four Black men entered his store—police say one remained outside as a look-out—and walked to the back. They came back to the front with ski masks on, shot Howell, and took \$100 from the till, he says.

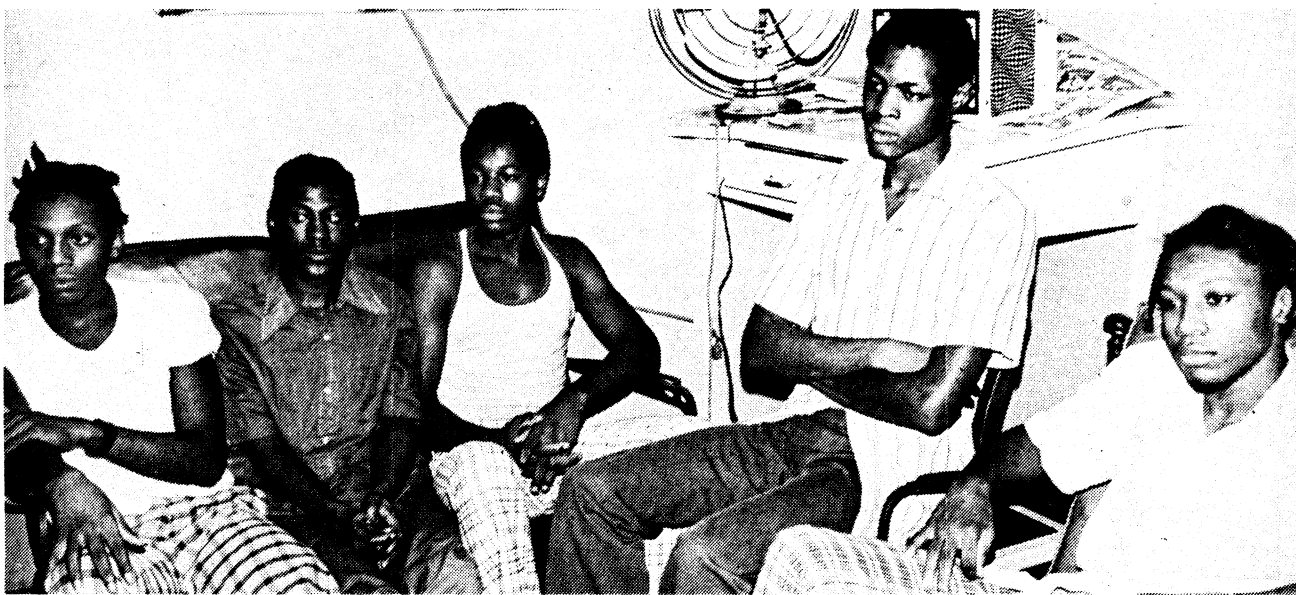
Police say Denton identified one of the men as Roosevelt Watson, and that Watson confessed and implicated the others.

Troublesome questions

It’s not that simple, however.

It seems that when Denton described the four men on the day of the shooting, he did not mention recognizing any of them. It was somewhere between one and five days later—authorities have given different estimates—that Denton recalled that one of the four was Roosevelt Watson.

Watson was a regular customer at the store. Denton knew him well enough to extend him credit. Why would it take him a day or more to remember that Watson was involved?



DAWSON 5: (from left to right) J.D. Davenport, Henderson Watson, James Jackson, Jr., Roosevelt Watson, Johnny Jackson.

Watson admits he confessed, but only after officers threatened to shoot him, castrate him, and electrocute him if he did not. Watson says he was told he was being hooked to an electric chair when officers wired him to what turned out to be a lie detector.

The prosecutors have other problems. They have never found the gun or the money. Neighbors say they saw the five young men on foot the morning of the killing, miles from the store. They were carrying water to the Watson home, which does not have running water.

Denton claims to have driven a mile to a telephone to call police, which would have meant driving past several homes with phones. The victim, Howell, was able to walk to the ambulance under his own power and lived six more hours. Police say they never questioned him.

They also must explain why five youths who had never been in trouble before would suddenly become murderers. Their defense lawyer, Millard Farmer, has one more question: “Why would they kill a man they did not know and leave alive a man they knew?”

These questions did not bother the prosecutors, who put all five in jail under \$100,000 bond. Three remain in jail, having served eighteen months without being tried. One was bailed out after nine months, another after sixteen.

These questions bother a lot of other people who believe the Dawson Five are threatened with death because they are poor and Black, and prosecutors thought they could easily pin the crime on them.

Rallying support

Four hundred supporters of the Dawson Five rallied at the Sardis Baptist Church July 2, the first

anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing the death penalty.

The speakers emphasized two themes for the Black Terrell County residents who made up most of the audience: register to vote, and have the courage to stand up to the system that oppresses you.

Millard Fuller, a Christian activist, told the crowd to “go out into this county, and talk to the Black and white folks who are not here, and give them courage. . . . Tell them they’re going to die some time, and they ought to spend their days on this earth doing what’s right and not hiding under a rock.”

Millard Farmer, noting the trial had been set for August 1, said it would take public pressure to keep the prosecutors from putting off the case again.

“It’s going to depend on the people of this county,” he said. “If they bring pressure on the courts, it’ll happen. If not, the courts will back down.”

Police from surrounding towns gathered in Dawson before the rally, evidently feeling it was more of a threat to the peace than the Ku Klux Klan meeting twenty-one miles to the north, in Jimmy Carter’s hometown of Plains.

In the week leading up to the meeting, police continually harassed volunteers leafletting for the event and conspicuously drove their police cars around the church where preparations were under way.

But the harassment didn’t impress the Blacks of Terrell County, says the church’s pastor, Rev. Milton Merritt.

“It’s not even exciting in Terrell County,” he said, laughing. “It’s usual procedure. For Terrell Countians this is very calm.”

Tyler: ‘Let the man know you’re determined’

By Joel Aber and Gretta Biback

(The first part of this interview appeared in the July 15 ‘Militant’.)

ANGOLA, La.—For two-and-a-half hours, nineteen-year-old Gary Tyler spoke to us through the bars of a cage here called the Death Row Visitors Shed.

Tyler, convicted of a murder he did not commit, told us he had been back in Angola for three months, following his resentencing to life imprisonment at hard labor. His previous sentence was death in the electric chair. But the state’s death penalty law has been declared unconstitutional.

Since returning to Angola, Tyler gets a lot of petty harassment. The warden took his brothers and sisters from the visitors list. Tyler explained that his lawyer, Jack Peebles, is trying to get their visiting rights restored.

Peebles is also preparing a writ of habeas corpus to demand a new trial

from the district court.

Tyler considers the struggle to win his freedom to be part of a larger battle against injustice. A victory in his case, he told us, would be a victory for Black people everywhere.

“People have been made aware of what’s happening,” he said. “They know that they are human beings. The man’s got more than they do. But that doesn’t mean that they’re inferior or subhuman.”

“When they resist, they’re saying, ‘I’ve had enough. The man’s got to respect me.’”

“It’s the same in my case. I’m determined to let them know they’re not going to break me.”

Locked up twenty-three hours a day Tyler has lots of time to study and think. He reads, he told us, mostly “about Marxism and revolution and about Black history.”

“I consider myself a Black nationalist and a socialist,” he said. “Many people say you can’t be a socialist if you’re a nationalist. But,

like Malcolm X said, you can be both.”

“Back in the sixties,” Tyler continued, “when people were demonstrating, fighting against the Vietnam War or segregation—this opened my eyes. I was a child, but I used to look at it all on television.”

“I didn’t really know the meaning of racism. But, you might say, I have first-hand knowledge of it now.”

“The man is trying to put pressure on us. And not only the Blacks, but the other minorities and the poor whites. He’s trying to misuse us.”

“Nowadays people know what took place back in the sixties. They know what they’re fighting for and who they’re fighting against—the capitalists.”

Does he think anything can be done to change the prison system, we asked. “The way I see it,” Tyler responded, “it doesn’t need improvement. It needs to be demolished, wiped out of existence.”

“Justice only applies for the rich,”

he added. “Patty Hearst had money, so she bought her way out of serving time for robbery, even murder.”

Later our conversation turned to the situation in southern Africa. “People are tired of being colonized,” Tyler said. “They want to run their own country. Africans ran it before the white man got there. Africans can run it now.”

We asked what people in this country can do to support the freedom struggle in southern Africa. “You’ve got to get out there and stomp your feet, tremble the whole city,” he said.

“We can’t say what’s happening in Africa doesn’t concern us, because it does. The people in the United States have got to put pressure on the Vorster and Smith regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe.”

“They’ve got to put pressure on the government here at home. It’s the same fight. We’re part of one another.”

“Let the man know you’re determined.”

NUCLEAR POWER A socialist view

NO NUKES



By Arnold Weissberg

(Second of two parts)

After years of discussion, plans for the first commercial nuclear power plant began in 1954. The Detroit Edison Corporation proposed to build a "breeder" reactor (so called because it produces more nuclear fuel than it consumes) forty miles outside Detroit. The reactor was to be called Enrico Fermi 1.

When the plan became public, it met some opposition. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and Detroit Edison cooperated in covering up the real dangers of the reactor. The United Auto Workers took the lead in opposing it. The UAW fought in the courts, but eventually lost.

The UAW's opposition to Fermi 1 is especially interesting in light of the current attitude of almost the entire labor officialdom—full speed ahead with nuclear energy.

Start-up was delayed by construction problems, accidents, defective materials, and other difficulties. Not until 1966 did the reactor finally begin generating electricity at a level that could be commercially profitable.

As the power level was gradually increased, instruments began to indicate something amiss after only a few hours.

The plant was shut down. And—quite literally—not a moment too soon.

The breeder

In order to create the conditions that allow more fuel to be produced than consumed, the core of the breeder reactor must be densely packed with its radioactive fuel—usually uranium or plutonium. Dense packing precludes moderating devices that can slow down the reaction. Although the core will get fiercely hot, very little coolant is used. Too much would slow down the neutrons needed to produce the chain reaction.

The light-water reactor, the most common type in

the United States, can use water as a coolant. But the breeder has to use liquid sodium or liquid potassium. Fermi 1 used liquid sodium.

Liquid sodium is extremely dangerous because it reacts violently if it touches air or water. Such explosions have occurred several times.

The biggest danger in the breeder is the design of the core. For maximum efficiency the breeder uses its fuel in such a way that an accident can create a "critical mass," which can result in a nuclear explosion.

If the flow of coolant is blocked, for example, by a pipe bursting, then the fuel will actually melt from its own heat, re-form, and perhaps become a small atom bomb.

The core is full of highly radioactive materials, so an explosion would spread them over a wide area. The consequences are horrifying.

One of the elements in the core is plutonium, which remains radioactive for nearly 500,000 years. Even a speck of it will cause lung cancer if inhaled.

Detroit in danger

When the Fermi 1 reactor began its power buildup, the instruments gave contradictory and confusing readings.

After the reactor was shut down, there was no way to tell what had happened. Although it was clear that something had gone wrong in the core, no one knew what. It was impossible to just take off the lid and look inside. The problem was that the fuel might have melted and gone critical. Poking into it might set off a nuclear explosion.

It took months to devise special equipment that could investigate the accident.

Finally, investigators discovered that a small piece of metal designed—ironically—to keep the fuel from fusing into a critical mass after a meltdown had broken loose and blocked the flow of the sodium coolant.

The plant had to be shut down permanently.

Carter the br and jo

Although no radioactivity escaped from Fermi 1, it was a fraction of a second away from possibly wiping out Detroit.

Despite the obvious and known dangers of the breeder, many European countries are pushing ahead with its development. European capitalists like the breeder because it will produce fuel for them. This, they hope, will end their reliance on foreign uranium sources.

President Carter has won applause from some environmentalists for his stated opposition to development of a breeder planned for Clinch River, Tennessee. But the truth is that Carter's energy plan will eventually force the breeder on us.

This is the logic of his April energy message. He called for building seventy-five new light-water plants by 1985. A later administration estimate called for more than 300 new reactors by the year 2000.

Uranium fuel will be scarce by then. But the reactors will be producing so much of our electricity that they will be declared essential. And the only way to fuel them will be—breeders.

Carter wants to downplay the breeder now in order to maintain the near-monopoly over nuclear fuel that U.S. capitalists now enjoy.

Since the same fuel that powers nuclear reactors can also be used to trigger atomic weapons, Carter also hopes to tighten Washington's control over the proliferation of nuclear capacity to other countries.

The United States now controls about half the world's uranium. If breeder reactors are banned, that will strengthen its control over nuclear fuel even more.

Anyway, no matter what Carter says about the breeder, he nonetheless has approved spending more money on the U.S. breeder program than all of Western Europe combined.

Although Carter's energy message was hailed by many environmentalists, his administration's approval of the bitterly contested nuclear plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire, shows his real attitude toward nuclear power.

Ignoring the environmental hazards of nuclear power in general, and Seabrook in particular, the Environmental Protection Agency gave the green light to the plant's proposed cooling system, virtually the last hurdle to be jumped before final construction can get under way.

Increasing costs

The nuclear industry is in a tight spot. The utilities that want to operate the plants—and the corporations such as General Electric and Westinghouse that build them—have sunk a large fortune into them.

But the costs of nuclear power have risen dramatically in the last few years and show no sign of slowing their climb.

A 1974 study carried out by the Center for Policy Studies at MIT found that light-water reactors, ordered in 1968 at an estimated cost of \$180 per kilowatt of electricity, in fact cost about \$430, more than double the original estimate. This real cost was up from \$300 for plants ordered only three years earlier, in 1965.

Further research has shown that the cost will continue to rise by \$31 per year per kilowatt.

The price of uranium has also gone through the roof—pushed there by an international cartel that included Gulf Oil. From a six dollars per pound price in 1972, the nuclear fuel has risen to forty-one dollars per pound.

Feeder, bs

The price rise has been so precipitous that Westinghouse, the second-largest manufacturer of nuclear reactors and a major supplier of uranium, simply refused to honor contracts to deliver uranium at prices that are now far below the market price.

Westinghouse's customers sued. Westinghouse replied—ironically enough—that it was the innocent victim of a conspiracy to drive up prices!

Because the costs of building nuclear power plants are so high, many utilities will be forced to raise their rates in order to pay for them. Public Service Corporation, a utility that owns a big piece of the Seabrook reactor, admits it will need a 5 percent yearly rate increase to cover its Seabrook costs.

The economics of nuclear power make clear that the industry would collapse without government support.

Carter has moved to add to that support. The MIT study cited above found that the cost of building a nuclear reactor depended not so much on how big the plant was as on how long it took to license it.

So the longer it takes a plant to get its final operating license—meaning the longer environmentalists are allowed to slow construction—the more the plant will cost.

It now takes about ten years for a reactor to get its final license. Carter's April energy scheme proposed to cut that to three years. His idea is to standardize reactor design and approve the standard design, thus making objections difficult.

His plan could go a long way toward making nuclear-generated electricity more competitive with other energy sources and bailing out the utilities and manufacturers.

Antinuclear movement

Opposition to nuclear power has sprung up in Western Europe, Japan, and the United States. The movement in Europe is quite large, and demonstrations of as many as 50,000 people have taken place.

Not limited to students and intellectuals, the European antinuclear movement includes working people, farmers, and fishermen who see nuclear power as a hazard to their lives and livelihoods.

The April 30-May 1 sit-in at the Seabrook site was the first mass action against nuclear power in this country, although opponents have fought it for years in the courts.

Harvey Wasserman, a spokesperson for the Clamshell Alliance, which organized the Seabrook sit-in, declared that his group was prepared to turn nuclear energy into Jimmy Carter's Vietnam.

The antinuclear movement certainly has the potential—like the anti-Vietnam War movement—to win over the majority of the American people. It can do so if its positions are clear and it tries to involve as many people as possible in its activities—tries to build a mass movement.

Arrayed against the antinuclear movement are the utilities, the giant corporations that manufacture the plants, the equally huge corporations that dominate the nuclear-fuel market, and the federal government.

The economic importance of nuclear power to the corporations became clear last year in California during the fight over a ballot initiative that would have set up safety standards for nuclear power plants.

GE and Westinghouse, two of the largest manufacturers of nuclear-plant equipment, contributed a total of \$209,000 to defeat Proposition 15, as the

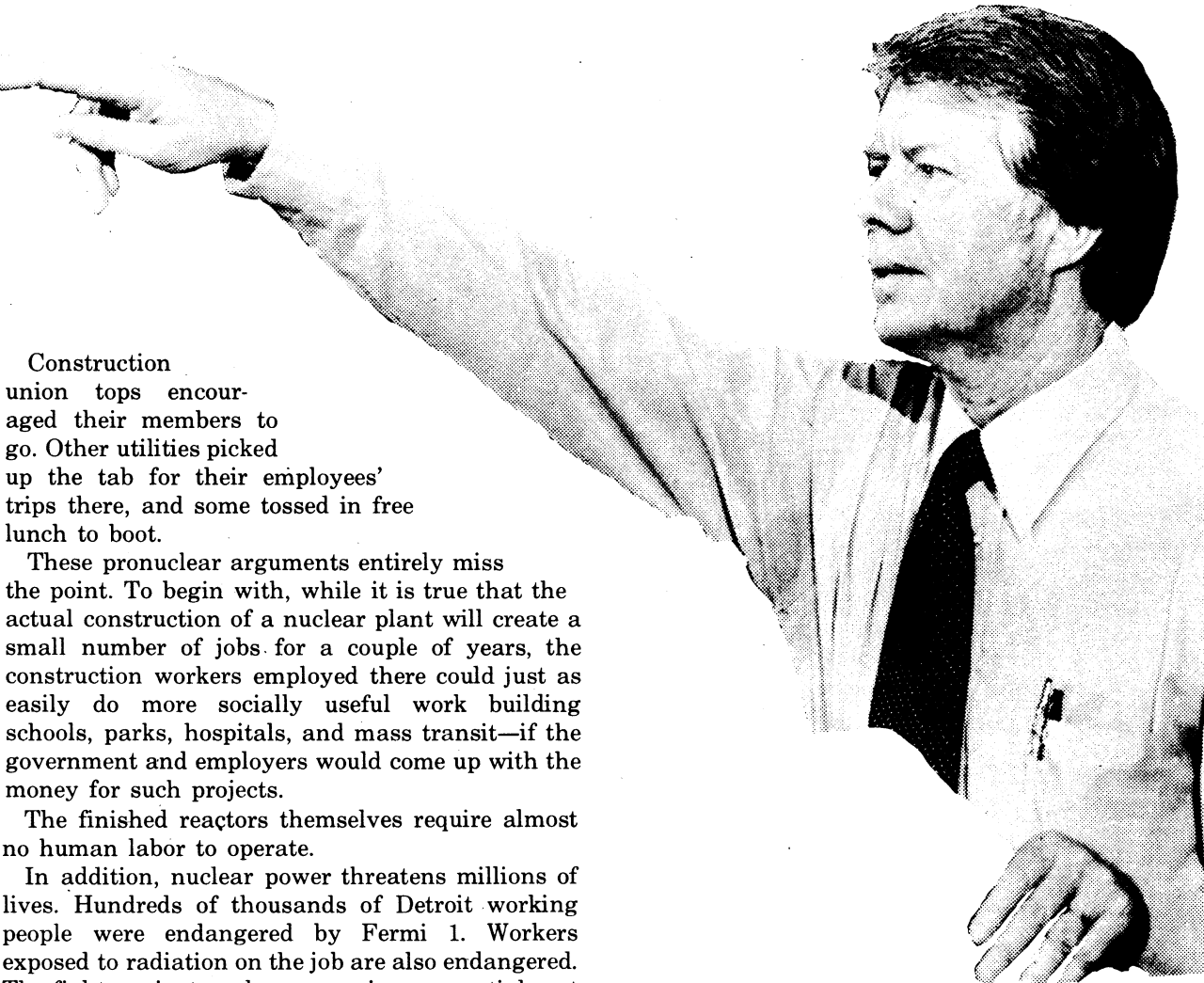
initiative was known. Pacific Gas and Electric, the state's largest utility, came across with \$297,000. More than thirty electric companies contributed to the defeat of the initiative.

Joining this pronuclear chorus have been the bureaucrats of the labor unions. In fact, they have been pushed by the employers into starring roles in the opera called "Nuclear Power Means Jobs." It has a familiar refrain, one that's heard each time a proposal to clean up the environment threatens corporate profits.

The tune goes something like this: the only way to provide a job for everyone is to keep the economy growing. (In capitalism's secret language, that means keeping profits high.) A growing economy requires energy. Oil, gas, and coal are running out, so only nuclear power can provide the energy to keep the economy alive.

Environmentalists, from this point of view, are a threat to the well-being of workers and their families.

These were the chords struck at a pronuclear rally in New Hampshire at the end of June. The rally was largely financed by the Public Service Corporation.



Construction union tops encouraged their members to go. Other utilities picked up the tab for their employees' trips there, and some tossed in free lunch to boot.

These pronuclear arguments entirely miss the point. To begin with, while it is true that the actual construction of a nuclear plant will create a small number of jobs for a couple of years, the construction workers employed there could just as easily do more socially useful work building schools, parks, hospitals, and mass transit—if the government and employers would come up with the money for such projects.

The finished reactors themselves require almost no human labor to operate.

In addition, nuclear power threatens millions of lives. Hundreds of thousands of Detroit working people were endangered by Fermi 1. Workers exposed to radiation on the job are also endangered. The fight against nuclear power is an essential part of the fight for safe working conditions.

Scapegoating

The bureaucrats' claim that opponents of nuclear energy threaten jobs echoes their other backward excuses to explain why they don't take on those truly responsible for unemployment: the profit-hungry bosses.

The labor bureaucrats say that "illegal aliens" are the problem.

They say that more war spending is good for working people because it creates jobs.

They blame low-paid foreign workers for "flooding" the United States with imports.

But the truth is that so many people are out of work today because that's what is most profitable for the bosses. After all, it's they who lay workers off.

Capitalism—not imported televisions, "illegal aliens," or opponents of nuclear power and arms spending—is the real cause of unemployment.

And capitalism is just what the bureaucrats don't want to fight. Because they are doing quite well—living on bloated salaries, more like the employers than the workers they supposedly represent.

So they have no interest in squaring off against the bosses or against the Democratic and Republican politicians who serve the bosses' interests.

That's why the union tops look for anyone but the employers to blame for unemployment.

A union leadership that really fought for the interests of its members, on the other hand, would demand that the workweek be cut from forty to thirty hours with no reduction in pay.

That would create millions of new jobs. Why don't today's union leaders put forward this simple

demand? Because it would cut too deeply into profits.

The labor movement should also demand a giant public-works program at union wages to ensure that everyone who needs a productive job has one. This too would create millions of jobs—building needed schools, hospitals, housing, and parks.

Asserting that the world is running out of coal, oil, and gas doesn't make it so. The giant energy corporations—many of which control vast holdings of all three fuels—must be forced to open their books for inspection by committees of union members and consumers so we can see what the facts are.

In addition, the utilities that run nuclear plants and the federal "regulatory" commissions should make public all information about nuclear "accidents" and safety.

Why does the government continue to push nuclear power rather than safer alternatives? Why, for example, is it starving solar power research?

Perhaps, as Ralph Nader put it, it's because nobody can put a meter on the sun.

The Democratic and Republican parties that run the government are parties of and for big business. Their energy decisions aren't based rationally on

what people need but on what will produce the most profits for the class they represent.

That's why working people need their own party. An independent labor party would fight for the development of safe, clean energy and for a program to put people back to work. It would fight to tear away the shroud of secrecy from the energy trust and government "regulatory" agencies.

Shut them down

Today the bosses run the government. But a labor party would fight for a workers government.

A workers government would immediately shut down every nuclear power plant inherited from the profits-first capitalist system. It would make public all the facts about oil and gas reserves and tell the truth about the dangers of nuclear power.

A workers government would marshal the best minds of unionists, scientists, and engineers to explore all energy alternatives and submit their findings to a democratic discussion in society as a whole. Not only would this allow the development of safe energy sources, it would unleash the greatest productive force that humanity has ever known—the untapped creativity and talents of working people when they take over and run society for the benefit of all humanity.

A workers government would do all this because it would be based on rational, socialist planning, not on the profit needs of a few giant corporations.

These are the answers to the "energy crisis"—not putting a potential nuclear bomb in everyone's backyard.

'Nothing but a battlefield'

Safety at Ford's Dearborn stamping plant

By Al Duncan

DEARBORN, Mich.—The first thing that struck me on entering the Dearborn Stamping Plant was the extensive safety padding the workers wear. The plant, where the metal is cut and shaped for car bodies, is part of the giant Ford Rouge complex here.

At the "safety orientation" during my first day on the job, I asked one of the guys sitting next to me, "Why all the padding?"

"If you've been to 'Nam," he answered, referring to the Vietnam War, "then you should feel right at home here. 'Cause out there on the floor it ain't nothing but a battlefield, with WIAs [Wounded in Action], KIAs [Killed in Action], and all the rest."

For example, he said, it's nothing for ten, fifteen, or even twenty workers in one night to get cut, requiring anywhere from five to fifteen stitches.

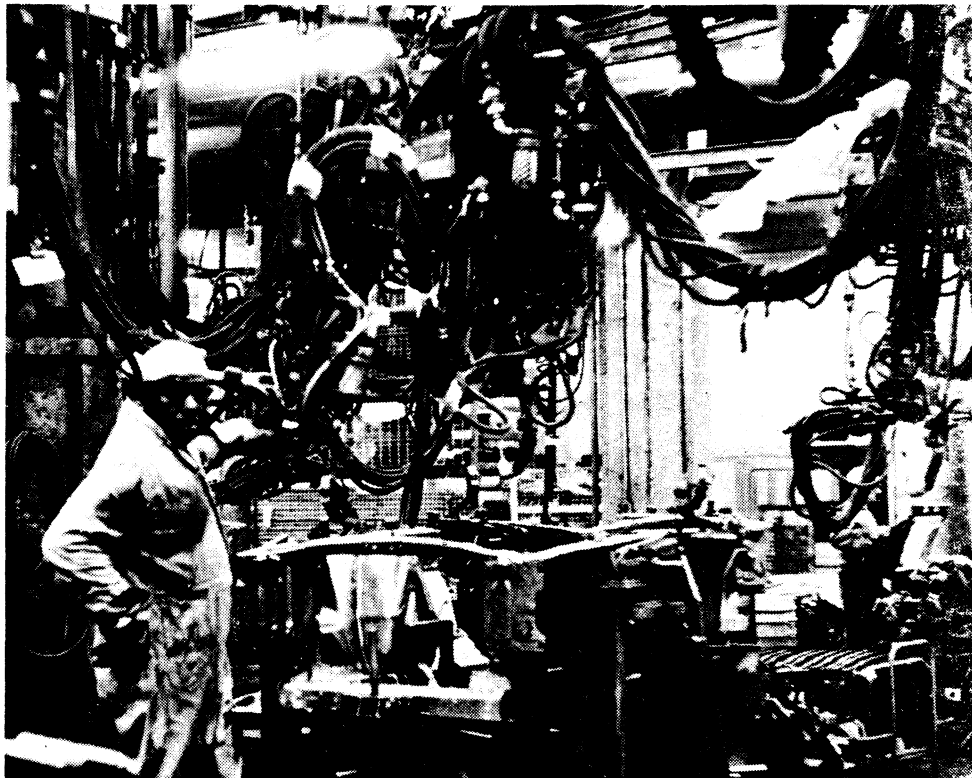
He added that these kinds of injuries weren't much. "All you get from them is a 'light restriction' job, which doesn't mean too much in a stamping plant," he said.

So I asked what would have to happen for a worker to get time off. He thought for a moment, and answered, "If you lose a finger, a hand, or part of an arm, then you could go on a medical leave for two months, or perhaps three."

It wasn't long before I could verify these unsafe conditions based on my own experiences and observations.

Within two weeks, I had cuts on both my hands and arms, several of which required medical attention.

Despite this, I am considered lucky. A lot of workers have lost fingers, hands, and have received head injuries. Some have been killed while



working around the giant presses (some of which weigh 1,000 tons).

The reasons for the high rate of injuries are known to all the workers here: *speedup and overtime*. This holds true for all the plants that make up the Rouge complex.

At one time more than 60,000 workers were employed in the complex. Now there are around 30,000. The 30,000 jobs were eliminated through automation, plant closings, transfers of whole facilities, or layoffs.

Despite the smaller work force, production remains the same. Ford Motor Company—the "better idea"

people—just borrowed someone else's idea: make fewer workers do what it took more to do in the past.

For example, when I worked in the assembly plant, most of the one-person jobs—if not all—were formerly two- or three-person jobs. No change in the line speed accompanied the reduction in work force.

This kind of speedup, job overloading, goes on all the time in every one of the plants at the Rouge.

In my plant, the more than 3,000 workers—95 percent of whom are Black—can expect to visit First Aid at

least once a month.

These unsafe working conditions have given rise to an unusual amount of interest in the current unit contract talks.

At two consecutive meetings of the United Auto Workers stamping plant unit, a majority voted to reject the new contract proposed by unit President Willie Washington.

At the second of these meetings, the 150 workers present voted to ask for strike authorization from the executive board of UAW Local 600 and the international executive board. (As of this writing, the request has not been acted on by the unit president or Mike Renaliti, the local president.)

The workers rejected the "new contract" because it is nothing but the old contract with a few minor modifications. Many members of the union here think that contract allowed the current situation in the stamping plant to develop to begin with.

The fact that the union leadership is trying to sell us the old contract has led some workers to question whether even a better contract could change the conditions.

We need a good contract, but even more, we need a strong union leadership to see to it that the contract is enforced.

Meanwhile, the injuries continue. In departments 6891 and 6893, two workers are hit in the head by pieces of stock, one requiring medical attention. In 6895, a worker loses a couple of fingers. In 6881, a machine comes down on a worker's hand because the foreman decided he wasn't working fast enough and ordered him to load the machine while pushing the buttons. . . .

Trade-union bureaucrats, old and 'new'

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Luncheons and dinners honoring top officials in the trade-union movement are common enough. But on June 28, I went to one that was different from the run-of-the-mill testimonial.

This one, attended by perhaps 250 people, was sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Appearing on the platform were DSOC leader Michael Harrington, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, and Jacob Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.



Militant/Henry Snipper
Douglas Fraser

Labor Unity
Jacob Sheinkman

As a result, many of these liberal officials have supported DSOC, which projects a more progressive image than SDUSA. These include: Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers; and Kenneth Brown, president of the Graphic Arts International Union.

Wurf, Brown, and Winpisinger were all sponsors of the DSOC luncheon, and Wurf and Brown were on the platform.

But the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has long been closely allied with Meany. The fact that a top ACW leader appeared along with the head of the UAW at a DSOC forum is thus of some interest.

What is involved, of course, is hardly a break with Meany on the part of ACW leaders. Rather, it's an indication that the competing wings of the trade-union bureaucracy consider their differences to be merely a family squabble.

Sheinkman tried to establish his liberal credentials by referring to his supposed contributions to the civil rights movement of the 1960s and to his union's current drive to organize J.P. Stevens workers in the South. He summed up his strategy for social betterment by referring to a "combination of the ballot box and the union card."

Referring to one case that has dragged through

the courts for the last twenty years, Sheinkman lamented: "We are still holding back-pay hearings. Many of the workers have died. And many more will die before this case is settled."

Sheinkman's solution? "President Carter, if you are really concerned with human rights, and we think you are, how about pressing Congress for reform of the NLRA [National Labor Relations Act]?"

Fraser also addressed the issue of reforming the NLRA. He was more forceful than Sheinkman in his appeal to Carter. "If we can't win this issue in the months immediately ahead, then we didn't win the election in November. It's that simple."

It was no accident that the two speakers dwelt on the need for reforming the NLRA. The title of the forum was "Labor's Southern Strategy," and both wings of the labor bureaucracy called it like they saw it. They think that the key to organizing unorganized workers in the South is for Congress to pass a new law. It's as simple as that.

At one point, Fraser took up the unsavory image that the leadership of the American labor movement has earned for itself. "We have to be in the vanguard—as we usually are—in the struggle for a better life for everyone," he insisted. "I'll tell this to our friends in the AFL-CIO—it would be better if you had a woman on the executive council. . . ."

Fraser added, "Labor must be seen as not just a narrow, economic self-interest group."

That was the closest the meeting ever came to discussing the real issues facing the American labor movement. Harrington, who introduced the speakers, confined himself mainly to fulsome praise for Fraser, and some plugs for DSOC.

As for Fraser, he took care to put his passing gibe at Sheinkman and the AFL-CIO leadership into perspective. "There's nothing incompatible between the union and the employer," he explained. "You don't have to choose up sides. . . ."

AS I SEE IT

A large part of the audience seemed to be trade-union functionaries of various types. Since the DSOC luncheon was held in the middle of a working day, its aim didn't seem to be to attract ordinary workers.

Harrington's group was formed in 1973 after a split in the old Socialist Party of Norman Thomas. Social Democrats USA, one side of the split, is little more than a mouthpiece for the thoroughly reactionary policies of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Supporters of the American intervention in Vietnam, opponents of affirmative-action programs for women and oppressed minorities, and propagandists for greater military spending, SDUSA has supplied eager staff members for Meany's apparatus.

But a section of the more liberal trade-union officials, led by those in control of the UAW, has long objected to Meany's backward policies. They particularly object because such policies make the union leadership—including its more liberal wing—natural targets for the discontent of the ranks.

Kremlin steps up attacks on Spanish CP

By Peter Seidman

"Eurocommunism" and the State, a recent book by Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, received a blistering review by the Kremlin.

Published in the June 23 issue of *New Times*, a Soviet weekly, the review charges that Carrillo's interpretation of "'Eurocommunism' corresponds solely and exclusively to the interests of imperialism and the forces of aggression and reaction. . . .

"The practical application of [Carrillo's] interpretation would lead, finally, to splitting the international Communist movement, that is, to achieving precisely what has been the objective of the aggressive forces of imperialism for so many decades."

New Times says that "Eurocommunism corresponds to the interests of defending the political status quo that suits the aims of imperialism, of the United States."

The leadership of the Spanish CP was quick to answer the Kremlin's charges in a resolution introduced by Dolores Ibarruri. Ibarruri has generally been considered a pro-Kremlin hardliner. She spent many years exiled in Moscow, where she had been forced to flee in the 1930s following her role as a CP leader during the civil war.

But the resolution, adopted with only one abstention by the CP's central committee, was a firm rebuff of Moscow's attacks.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain," the resolution declared, "considers that the time has come to eliminate from relations among Communist and workers parties the method of substituting anathemas and condemnations for scientific analyses. This method is utterly alien to the spirit of Marxism. Such methods are among the reasons that the so-called 'existing socialism' in countries such as the Soviet Union cannot serve as an ideal model for a socialist society."

In rejecting Moscow's charge that Carrillo has joined the camp of U.S. imperialism, the Spanish CP tries to portray itself as simply a champion of socialist democracy.

But this enthusiasm for democratic rights by this longtime Stalinist party is purely due to political expediency. The CP knows that without taking some distance from the Kremlin's grossest totalitarian practices, it could not attract to its banner the hundreds of thousands of radicalizing Spanish workers who are repelled by such undemocratic policies.

Actually, the Spanish CP's "Euro-



UNDER PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW (left to right): Italian CP leader Enrico Berlinguer, Spanish CP general secretary Santiago Carrillo, and French CP chief Georges Marchais.

communism" could more properly be labeled "Eurostalinism." Its aim is to better enable the CP to implement its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism—the program of all Stalinist parties, "Eurocommunist" or not.

Nothing could be farther from Carrillo's mind than a revolutionary struggle to overturn the repressive capitalist system in Spain and replace it with a socialist democracy.

Class collaboration

The CP's record during the recent Spanish elections made its true politics clear. It didn't campaign for a government composed of itself and the Socialist Workers Party (the other mass workers party), a government that would fight to run the country in the interests of the workers, not the bosses.

Instead, the CP made clear its eagerness to cooperate with Premier Adolfo Suárez—a leading figure in the fascist movement while Franco was still alive. The CP aimed all its fire against the Popular Alliance, the most openly rightist of the major capitalist parties today.

In fact, the CP did not even oppose the Spanish monarchy. Its sole aim was to reap the rewards of serving as a loyal left cover for the existing capitalist regime.

The CP tried to prove its reliability in this role by helping the rulers keep down the explosive mobilizations of workers during the preelection period.

For example, in May the CP sabotaged massive demonstrations in the Basque country demanding amnesty for all political prisoners. It even sought to quell militant protests prompted by the murder of five lawyers associated with the CP by fascist death squads in January.

The Kremlin's attack on Carrillo is not an attack on these class-collaborationist policies. In fact, these policies are thoroughly consistent with Moscow's foreign policy objectives: helping imperialism keep the lid on the world revolution in exchange for diplomatic and economic concessions.

Rather, the Kremlin's attacks flow from the fact that it faces quite different problems from those of the Spanish CP.

Carrillo is worried about retaining his party's credibility among Spanish workers who are unwilling to stomach any compromise with bureaucratic policies such as Moscow's.

Moscow's problem, on the other hand, is how to head off and crush the growing struggle for democratic rights

throughout the Soviet bloc.

These aims understandably clash. That is what's behind the charges and countercharges between Carrillo and the Kremlin.

Whatever Carrillo's ultimate motive, however, he makes some cogent criticisms of the Kremlin in his book.

Here is what Moscow's *New Times* review had to say about them:

"According to S. Carrillo's opinion what has developed in the USSR does not correspond to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. He asserts that the October revolution produced a type of state which 'without being bourgeois cannot be regarded as a state of workers democracy in which the organized proletariat constitutes the ruling class.'"

"And all this is said about a country where the working class is the leading force in society, where the working class, together with the peasants and the intelligentsia, exercises all power. . . .

"S. Carrillo did not publish all these slanders against socialism, against our country, out of ignorance. This is conscious anti-Sovietism."

Sensitive nerve

This shrill attack reveals that Carrillo has struck a sensitive nerve.

How can the Kremlin allow the leader of a European Communist party to air views for which it regularly jails dissidents in its own country? This undermines one of the Kremlin's central justifications for its repressive policies: that any criticism of the Soviet regime is anticommunist and counterrevolutionary.

Obviously the dynamic of Carrillo's criticisms, if they began to circulate widely inside the Soviet bloc, would be to encourage and reinforce the mounting struggle for democracy there. And this struggle, the Kremlin bureaucrats are well aware, constitutes a mortal danger to their power and material privileges.

The outcome of this conflict between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the equally Stalinist Spanish CP is of great importance.

The massive French and Italian Communist parties, also under pressure from radicalizing workers, have identified themselves with "Eurocommunism."

The Kremlin has singled out Carrillo for special treatment because his party is the smallest of the three, and he is the highest-ranking CP official to take direct responsibility for such views.

But the push and shove of this battle

is being closely followed by CP leaders in Paris and Rome—as well as elsewhere.

For example, immediately after the publication of *New Times's* review, a three-man delegation from the Italian CP went to Moscow to express its concern at the attack.

On returning home, one member of the delegation, Emmanuele Marcheluso, gave an interview to the CP paper, *l'Unità*.

Marcheluso insisted the delegation had not buckled to the Kremlin's insistence that the Italian CP drop its criticisms of the lack of democracy in the USSR and East Europe.

"The representatives of the PCI," he said, "rejected the thesis of the Soviets that the question of dissidents in the USSR and the other socialist countries is an 'artificial' one injected to obstruct détente. The Italian Communists oppose the exploitation of this question . . . to obstruct contacts between East and West. They think, however, that this problem does exist and is a result of the fact that the problems of developing democracy remain unsolved in the USSR."

But another PCI leader, Ambrogio Donini—one of the best-known representatives of the old-line Stalinist current in the party—was quoted in the July 10 issue of the Rome weekly *L'Espresso* as being more or less satisfied that the Italian CP "has differentiated itself from Carrillo. . . . What Carrillo says is unacceptable. The PCI has never maintained that socialism does not exist in the Soviet Union."

Hence, the Kremlin's polemic with Carrillo subjects all the "Eurocommunist" parties to conflicting pressures.

If Carrillo refuses to back down, each of these parties may be forced to take a position in a widening factional battle within the world Stalinist movement. To the extent that these parties line up with Carrillo, Moscow's problems in cracking down on the movement for democratic rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe will increase.

But to the extent that these parties side with Moscow or that Carrillo backs down, hundreds of thousands of radicalizing workers will learn to see beyond the fraudulent democratic pretenses of these Stalinist parties. This will accelerate the process of winning these workers to the banner of revolutionary socialism—thereby opening a new stage in the building of genuinely revolutionary parties in Western Europe.



SPANISH CPers DEMONSTRATE: Their demands for democracy pressure Carrillo to take his distance from the Kremlin.

Youth unemployment: a specter haunting

By Jon Britton
From Intercontinental Press

A specter has appeared in the advanced capitalist countries—youth unemployment. It haunts rulers and ruled alike.

Not that there is anything new in youths being unemployed. On the contrary, young persons have long been disproportionately represented on the jobless rolls.

In recent years, however, the number of youths unable to find jobs has risen dramatically, adding to the chronic instability of capitalist governments, especially in Western Europe.

In Italy, two-thirds of the unemployed last year were looking for their first job. At last count roughly 40 percent of the unemployed in the twenty-four richest countries where "free enterprise" prevails were under twenty-five years of age.

As the June 11-17 British *Economist* in an article entitled "Young on the dole" put it, school-leavers are "beginning to find the transition from school to work nearly as difficult as the camel's passage through the needle's eye."

This article, despite its cynical ruling-class viewpoint, contains useful facts and figures on the scourge of youth unemployment in the twenty-four countries making up the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which includes all the imperialist powers.

It points out, for example, that "as the recession drags into slow and hesitant recovery, high and long unemployment is decreasingly being described as 'cyclical' and increasingly as 'structural'—the key adjective in statesmen's statements, worldwide, this year. . . .

"What many of the world's leaders who worry about structural unemployment mean by it," the article continues, ". . . is simply unemployment which, for one reason or another, just won't go away."

The structural, or long-term, character of today's unemployment is clearly shown by the fact that average unemployment for the OECD countries increased in the last year, during a period of economic upturn. It is now running between 5 and 6 percent, according to official figures.

Extent of job crisis

These figures understate the job shortage. In the first place, many immigrant workers, especially in Europe, have been forced to go back home. In West Germany, for instance, the number of such workers declined from 2.5 million in 1973 to 1.9 million by June of last year.

In addition, many workers, including teen-agers, have dropped out of the labor market because of the dismal job situation and in some cases because of legislation raising the age limit for compulsory schooling. "In most countries, the teenage participation rate has been falling throughout the 1970s," the *Economist* states.

Finally, the unemployment indices are calculated differently in different countries. According to Leonard Silk, writing in the May 12 *New York Times*, "Prof. Sar Levitan of George Washington University, who has just returned from a study trip to Europe during which he worked with German economic technicians, says the German unemployment rate of 4.8 percent is equivalent to a United States unemployment rate of 7.2 or 7.3 percent."

In addition to the clear rise in structural unemployment, another disturbing feature is emerging, according to the *Economist*:



New York City high school students waiting to be signed up for summer jobs

The most critical change in developed countries' labour markets has been their new duality: the divide between the job "haves," who have gained, over time, greater security; and the "have nots," who therefore bear an increasing share of unemployment. School leavers, naturally, start in the second category, and tend to be the least secure of those in the first.

This growing trend has been referred to in the United States as "two-tier" unemployment. While there have always been those who are permanently out of work, the bottom "tier," consisting overwhelmingly of youth, members of oppressed nationalities, and women, rapidly expanded during the 1974-75 depression and has been little affected by the subsequent upturn. After two years of "recovery," teen-age unemployment in the United States in May remained at an official 17.9 percent (compared to 20.4 percent in April 1975) and for Black teen-agers at an astronomical 38.7 percent (down only slightly from 40.2 percent in April 1975).

The growth of a permanently unemployed "pariah class" is indeed a long-term trend in capitalism. It was noted by Marx in the nineteenth century:

The greater the social wealth . . . the greater is the industrial reserve army [of unemployed] . . . the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population . . . the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.

The trend was disguised for many years because of the long post-World War II expansion and the growth of government employment during the same period. But the boom ended in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since then we have seen the deepest slump since the Great Depression of the 1930s, followed by a weak upturn; the new phenomenon of "slumpflation"; and large-scale layoffs of government workers and cutbacks of social services.

1. As quoted by Trotsky in *Marxism in Our Time* (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 20.

The underlying trend has once more broken through. The following words of Trotsky, written in 1939, apply with greater force today:

The present army of unemployed can no longer be regarded as a "reserve army," because its basic mass can no longer have any hope of returning to employment; on the contrary, it is bound to be swelled by a constant flow of additional unemployed. Disintegrating capitalism has brought up a whole generation of young people who have never had a job and have no hope of getting one. . . . A social régime ravaged by such a plague is sick unto death. The proper diagnosis of this malady was made [by Marx] nearly four score of years ago, when the disease itself was a mere germ.²

Social consequences

The most farsseeing capitalists and their spokesmen are becoming increasingly concerned with the social and political consequences of such widespread youth unemployment. The *Economist* puts it this way:

Young men unemployed today seem very likely criminals and political bomb-throwers tomorrow. Crime rates are highest for people in their late teens and early twenties, and highest of all for those most unemployed minorities among the young (blacks, immigrants). Most governments have short, uncomfortable memories of the student ructions of the late 1960s and fear that the recruiting-sergeants of extremism and revolution cannot be far away from the jobless young.

Note the crude amalgamation of crime and revolution. The "crime" the rulers fear the most, of course, is a full-scale youth revolt.

This was made clear by Silk in the May 12 *New York Times*:

Communism looms as a real threat or—to many young people, workers and intellectuals—as a promising alternative to what they regard as decadent capitalism. Joblessness heightens dissatisfaction with the existing system.

This assessment seems to be confirmed by the number of young people

joining the Italian Communist Party. An article by F. de Vito in the Rome weekly *L'Espresso* last February revealed that in a sample of 6,000 new members the proportion of recruits under twenty-five was about 38 percent, as against the CP's national average of 15 percent.

The alternative of "Communism" is made all the more attractive by the fact that unemployment is virtually absent in the East European countries. The problem there, in many cases, is a chronic labor shortage.

Silk fails to point out, however, that the growing popularity of "Communism" among West European youth goes along with a rejection of bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe. This is one of the key pressures giving rise to the phenomenon of Euro-Communism.

In the United States, too, unemployment, especially among Black youth, is creating the conditions for future explosions. Herbert Hill, national labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, warned June 28:

The condition of black people is again declining and for many in poverty areas it's already more desperate than it was during the most serious riots of the 1960's. As in the past, social and economic forces will generate ghetto rebellions that may require us to regard the civil disorders of the 1960's as mere prelude.

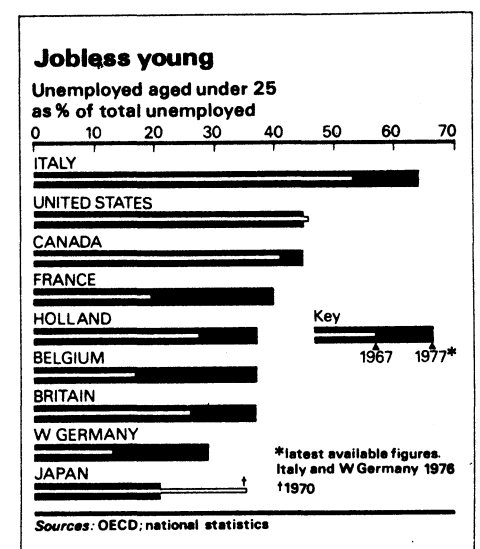
Under the heading "Action plans," the *Economist* discusses some of the policies governments of the OECD countries have adopted for dealing with youth unemployment.

The question of education seems to present knotty problems:

The young may be pricing themselves out, by reluctance to accept low-paid jobs, particularly if they have high educational qualifications. A recent study showed that nearly half of Italy's out-of-work young had a high school or university degree. Almost universally, the expansion of higher education has produced a contradiction: degrees are required for more jobs, but are also less certain to ensure employment.

Parliaments in several European countries have either passed or are discussing legislation lengthening the period of compulsory education. This alleviates youth unemployment only temporarily. The *Economist's* assessment of the measure: "Expensive; not repeatable."

Other approaches mentioned by the *Economist* include: subsidies to employers who retain or hire young workers; quota systems, requiring that a fixed proportion of employees be below a certain age; special efforts to fill existing youth vacancies through information, guidance, placement activities, or payment of moving allowances; early retirement of older



Economist

capitalists

workers; "encouraging" immigrant workers to return home, subsidies to employers for on-the-job training; remedial programs of various kinds, including some aimed at "improving attitudes, behaviour, and performance"; and job creation by government.

Cause is profit system

Such programs may help a few individuals, often at the expense of others. But none—except the creation of jobs through government public works programs—deal with the basic problem. Viewed socially, unemployment is not caused by too much, too little, or the wrong kind of education, or by "poor attitudes, behaviour and performance," or even by excessive procreation.

Instead it is owing to the workings of the profit system itself. This is becoming more and more obvious as increasing numbers of educated youths, whether vocationally or college-trained, find it impossible to land jobs.

Government job-creating programs, which could make a significant dent in youth unemployment, have remained on the token level.

For example, on May 13 President Carter signed bills for public works programs that will supposedly create a million jobs through 1978, 200,000 of them for youth. When measured

against a total unemployment of nearly seven million, however, the programs fall woefully short of the need.

The real answer to youth unemployment—and these demands are being raised by class-conscious workers throughout the capitalist world—is the combination of massive government-financed programs for construction of the low-cost housing, mass transit, hospitals, and schools that are so desperately needed, and a shorter workweek to spread the available work among all those seeking jobs.

But winning these demands will require a fight that is not to the liking of the reformist bureaucrats, whether Euro-Communist or Social Democratic or out-and-out procapitalist. A new leadership will be required that understands and will act on these words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

"... the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

Young Socialists urge mass action for jobs

The following is an interview with Cathy Sedwick, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Question. How big a problem is unemployment among young people in the United States?

Sedwick. Almost half the 7 million Americans officially listed as unemployed are age twenty-four or younger. And this doesn't even include the tens of thousands of discouraged young people who have simply given up looking for jobs, or those who have been forced to take part-time jobs.

Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano youth fare even worse. According to the National Urban League, Black youth unemployment probably exceeds 60 percent.

America's wealthy rulers try to downplay this problem by claiming that young people only work for "extra money."

But the truth is that hundreds of thousands of young workers desperately need jobs to pay for basic necessities such as food, clothing, and rent. Others depend on summer and part-time employment to keep pace with the skyrocketing cost of education. Between 1970 and 1977, for example, the average yearly cost for a resident student attending a public university increased 69 percent!

Q. What kind of program does the Young Socialist Alliance have for ending unemployment?

Sedwick. To end unemployment a massive social movement must be built demanding that the government put human needs ahead of profits.

The government should use the \$115 billion it now spends on the

military budget, for example, to launch a massive public works program to build schools, housing and hospitals instead. This would open up many new jobs.

In addition, the workweek should be shortened with no reduction in pay, so that everyone who wants a job can have one.

Instead, the Democratic and Republican parties are carrying out profits-first policies of cutbacks in funding for education and jobs.

The YSA actively supports struggles against the cuts and layoffs. We have a mass-action strategy that we believe is key to our ability to win.

We urge all students and young people to join us.

For more information, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 31.



World news notes

Pakistani junta cracks down

Pakistan's new military junta issued strict new regulations July 10 barring "strikes, agitation, or political activity of any kind in education institutions" and all activities connected with trade unions.

The new restrictions were ordered by General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, the army chief of staff who toppled the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in a bloodless coup July 5.

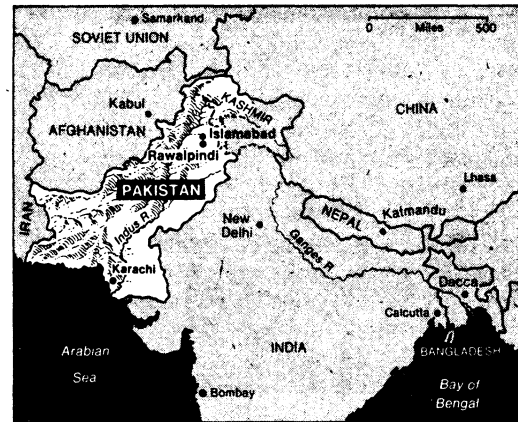
The coup followed the breakdown of negotiations between Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and leaders of the opposition Pakistan National Alliance over plans for new elections to the national assembly.

The negotiations began after more than three months of massive protests during which nearly 300 people died in street battles with pro-government forces.

The protests were sparked by widespread anger over Bhutto's rigging of the March 7 elections in which the PPP won a lopsided victory.

General Zia said the breakdown of negotiations forced the military to move in order to forestall "a civil war, a free-for-all."

The junta has declared martial law, but promises new elections in October.



Castro says 'no deal' over Angola

Fidel Castro says that Cuba will not agree to withdraw its troops from Angola as a condition for Washington's lifting its trade embargo or resuming diplomatic relations.

"Our solidarity with Angola or other African countries cannot be an object for negotiation," Castro explained. "The truth is that it would not be moral, it would not be worthy on our part to renounce our solidarity in return for benefits."

The Cuban premier also expressed his view that the Carter Administration "is the first U.S. government in eighteen years which has not committed itself to a policy of hostility with Cuba." Nonetheless, Castro explained, "Only the total suppression of the [U.S.] embargo would create conditions which would justify talking about an improvement in U.S.-Cuban relations."

Castro's remarks were contained in an interview published July 11 in the Brazilian weekly *Veja*.

Soviet dissidents sentenced

Two prominent Soviet dissidents, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, were sentenced July 1 to long prison terms on charges of carrying out "anti-Soviet propaganda."

They are the first leading human-rights activists to be sentenced to prison terms since the Soviet authorities began their drive against members of the Helsinki monitoring groups in early February.

On June 27, Irina Orlov, wife of Yuri Orlov, the founder of the Moscow group who had been detained since February, reported that Orlov had been formally charged with disseminating anti-Soviet fabrications, a charge that carries a maximum prison term of three years.

In contrast, Anatoly Shcharansky, a twenty-nine-year-old computer specialist and member of the Moscow Helsinki group, is reportedly being charged with "treason," a crime that carries the death penalty. Shcharansky was arrested March 15, on charges of spying for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Another leading dissident and member of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group, Aleksandr Ginzburg, a forty-year-old writer, has been charged with disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda. The charges against Ginzburg, who had been held since February, were revealed on July 4 by Valentyn Turchin.

Argentina: Riesnik released

After being held in a clandestine jail for six days and brutally tortured by armed forces personnel, Pablo Riesnik was released May 31.

Riesnik was a leader of the Argentine student movement and was the editor of the Trotskyist newspaper *Política Obrera* until its publication was suspended after the March 1976 military coup. He had been kidnapped in Buenos Aires May 25.

A campaign for Riesnik's release began immediately after he disappeared. Support was received from Nobel laureate Laurent Schwartz, Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights, the trade-union federation Force Ouvrière in France, and student leaders at the University of São Paulo in Brazil.

Eritrean independence struggle advances

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Since the beginning of the year, the Eritrean liberation forces have made significant gains in their long struggle for Eritrea's independence from Ethiopian rule.

The growing strength of the independence groups and their mass support among the Eritrean population has been confirmed by several journalists who recently visited the Eritrean-controlled regions of the territory.

Gérard Chaliand, an expert on guerrilla struggles, described the activities of the independence groups in a series of articles in the May 7 and May 8-9 issues of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. According to him, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) now controls all of Sahel and wields considerable influence in the districts of the high plateau region, where Keren and Asmara are located, as well as along the coast of the Red Sea between Massawa and Assab.

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) controls the greater part of the two western most districts, Barka and Gash, and its units are present in all the other districts except Sahel. Chaliand estimated that both groups had between 10,000 and 12,000 troops each.

The smaller Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), which split from the EPLF in March 1976, operates in a section of northern Barka near the Sudanese border. Its 2,000 troops were recruited largely from among Eritrean refugees living in the Sudan.

Rebels administer countryside

The liberation movements administer the areas they control as if they were governments, setting up schools, hospitals, workshops, training centers and civil administrations. According to Chaliand, the EPLF has carried out some land reform measures, expropriating a number of large absentee landlords and assisting in the equitable distribution of land in those areas where it has been traditionally communally-owned.

According to correspondent Jonathan Randal, whose series of reports from Eritrea appeared in the *Washington Post* from April 30 through May 3, there is considerable political discussion at the EPLF-run schools. He quoted some of the questions that students asked him when he visited one of them:

"Why did the United States give Ethiopia heavy weapons and warplanes and bombs and bullets to kill the Eritrean people?"

"Who killed Malcolm X?"

"When will the United States elect a black President?"

Junta defends 'sacred unity'

Despite the Ethiopian military junta's claims that it is "socialist," it has consistently rejected the Eritreans' right to self-determination. Head of state Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam has pledged to maintain the

country's "sacred unity" at all costs.

In face of the new Eritrean advances, there are indications that the junta is preparing another major military offensive. Tens of thousands of Ethiopian peasants are reportedly being trained at military camps north of Addis Ababa for a mass march into the territory. A similar effort last year, involving an estimated 125,000 poorly armed and trained peasants, fell apart after the first few skirmishes.

Since 1952, the Ethiopian regime, under both Emperor Haile Selassie and the current military junta, has received aid in its war against the Eritreans from Washington. The American imperialists armed and trained the Ethiopian armed forces, providing \$275 million in military assistance. Since the junta overthrew Selassie in September 1974, Washington has also sold Addis Ababa more than \$150 million worth of American arms.

This close relationship was reduced considerably in April when Washington cut down its aid to the junta. In addition, Addis Ababa closed down a number of American offices and installations in the country.

Since then, Mengistu has visited Moscow, where he was accorded a red-carpet welcome. There have been reports that Soviet arms shipments have started to arrive in Ethiopia.

Washington Post correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in the June 9 issue that, according to Eritrean sources in Khartoum, Moscow approached all three Eritrean independence groups—the ELF, EPLF, and ELF-PLF—with a proposal for a negotiated settlement. According to Osman Saleh Sabbe, the central leader of the ELF-PLF, Moscow proposed a federation with Ethiopia that would give "recognition of a distinctive Eritrean status."

Ottaway reported, "The Soviet proposal was rejected, he [Sabbe] said. Other Eritrean sources here confirmed that all three factions decided independently to refuse outright any solution short of total independence."

The Eritreans' previous experience with "federation" schemes was undoubtedly a factor in their rejection of the Soviet proposal.

Past 'federation' schemes

After the Italian defeat in Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1941, Eritrea was administered by the British occupation forces, while Addis Ababa and the various imperialist powers maneuvered to gain control of Eritrea. In December 1950, an American scheme for the federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia was adopted, providing for Eritrea's full autonomy with its own constitution and parliament.

However, with American backing, Emperor Selassie ignored the formal provisions of federation, crushed the growing Eritrean workers movement, banned all parties opposed to merger with Ethiopia, and then in 1962 forcibly annexed Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth province. Amharic, the language of the dominant Amhara nationality in Selassie's empire, was imposed as the sole official language of Eritrea (most Eritreans speak Tigre, Tigrinya, and Arabic).

It was in response to this assault on Eritrean rights that the Eritrean independence struggle was born.

One obstacle that hampered the Eritrean freedom fighters for many years was a factional conflict that resulted in armed clashes between various Eritrean groupings. An internal conflict within the ELF resulted in a wave of killings from 1967 to 1969. In 1970 a group led by Issaias Afewerki split away to form the EPLF. From



'The liberation movements administer the areas they control as if they were governments, setting up schools, hospitals, workshops, training centers and civil administrations.'

February 1972 to August 1974, a factional war raged between the ELF and EPLF, greatly debilitating the independence struggle as a whole.

In response to the new opportunities after Selassie's overthrow by the military junta in 1974, the ELF and EPLF made several attempts to unify. Although those efforts broke down, the Ethiopian junta's renewed offensive against the independence movement forced the two groups to establish a degree of cooperation on the battlefield against their common enemy.

The EPLF has been frequently described in the Western press as "Marxist," but its leaders reject this characterization.

Randal commented:

Both the ELF and EPLF favor a "National Democratic Front," both subscribe to similar leftist platforms calling for the sweeping nationalizations that are common liberation-movement fare.

Both appear dominated by Marxists but officially tolerant of non-Marxists and aware that the country's situation—backward, feudal, largely rural and illiterate—rules out any overnight revolution.

Despite disclaimers by all concerned, the basic differences appear rooted in personalities and rivalry cloaked in claims and counterclaims as to relative size, significance and ideological purity.

The situation was further complicated in March 1976 when Osman Saleh Sabbe, the head of the EPLF's Foreign Mission, split and established the ELF-PLF as a separate organization. The EPLF now refers to the ELF-PLF as a "clique of rightists and opportunist elements."

Although the ELF-PLF only has a limited base within Eritrea, both of the other two groups acknowledge that Sabbe has greater financial resources

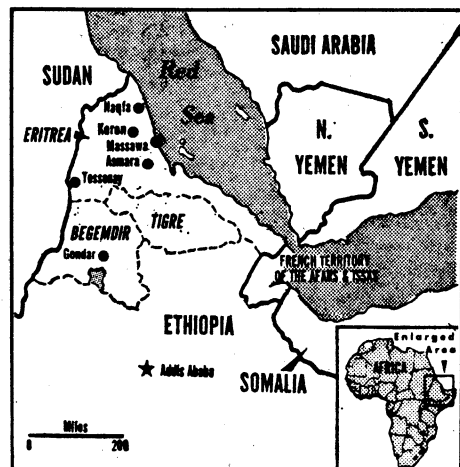
because of his contacts with various Arab regimes. According to Chaliand, the ELF-PLF gets most of its aid from the regimes in Libya and Saudi Arabia. The ELF also gets some aid from Arab states, principally from those in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

In another attempt to overcome the factional rivalry, the ELF and EPLF signed an agreement May 31 calling for a reunification of all the groups and pledging to work together against the expected Ethiopian offensive. Under the new accords, the ELF is supposed to absorb the ELF-PLF. Both the ELF and EPLF agreed to establish a joint National Democratic Front until independence is achieved.

As the Eritrean independence movement continues to gain strength, it is likely that the American imperialists will attempt to derail the struggle and prevent the development of a real revolutionary challenge to their significant interests in the region. Since several of the Arab regimes aiding some of the Eritrean groups are heavily backed by Washington, their involvement may reflect hidden American efforts to influence the course of the Eritrean struggle.

If that is the aim, Washington may face some difficulties. According to Randal, "the Eritreans are suspicious of the Saudis and their Sudanese surrogates, seeing them as acting for Washington."

And because of the previous American backing to the Ethiopian regime, Duffy reported, "the Eritrean rebels consider the United States a symbol of imperialism, even though they say they have no tie to Marxism. The recent change in attitude in Addis Ababa, toward Moscow and away from Washington, has apparently had no effect on the rebels' outlook."



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Repression and rebellion in Panama

By Judy White

From Intercontinental Press

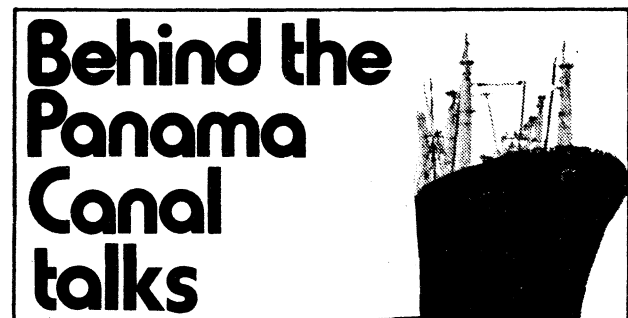
(Fifth in a series)

Previous articles have described how U.S. control over the Panama Canal was codified in the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. This treaty, signed in 1903, granted U.S. imperialism complete control of the Canal Zone, and thus effectively gave it control over the entire Panamanian state.

During the 1930s, pressure against the occupation built up to such an extent that Washington felt forced to renegotiate the terms of the canal treaty. In 1936 some of the most detested provisions of the 1903 Hay-Bunau-Varilla agreement were removed.

Despite the fact that the 1939 ratification of the revised treaty curtailed Washington's right to intervene outside the Canal Zone, the Pentagon—under the patriotic mantle of special defense needs during the Second World War—vastly expanded its military apparatus beyond the boundaries of the enclave.

The lease on these sites ran out in 1947. When officials of the U.S. and Panamanian governments signed an agreement December 10 of that year to renew the lease, mass demonstrations broke out in Panama City.



The Panamanian government was forced to cancel its agreement with Washington.

The Pentagon withdrew from its bases outside the Canal Zone by the end of 1947.

But a new, militant anti-imperialist movement had been born in the course of the struggle. Led by students and reflecting the impact of the revolutionary upsurge that was sweeping the world, it was to become more and more prominent in the struggle to end the U.S. presence in Panama.

Right to fly flag

During the 1950s, the question of the Panamanian people's sovereign claim to the Canal Zone itself became the center of the protest. The right to fly the Panamanian flag came to symbolize this claim; and marches were organized into the Canal Zone to plant the national colors alongside the stars and stripes.

On May 2, 1958, when a group of students from the University of Panama flew seventy-five flags in the Canal Zone, "order was restored" by the Panamanian National Guard. The regime declared a state of siege, suspended civil liberties, instituted censorship, and decreed a curfew. A number of students were arrested.

Six months later, during the celebration of Panamanian Independence Day, several students were injured when the National Guard attacked.

Independence Day celebrations in 1959 were also marked by violence. On November 3, demonstrators led by members of the National Assembly entered the Canal Zone, planted their national emblem, and sang the Panamanian anthem. They were driven out of the enclave by U.S. troops.

The decade was also marked by the first reported protest around a theme that has come increasingly to the fore in the struggle for self-determination by the Panamanian people—the demand for an end to the Pentagon's use of their country as a base for counterrevolutionary military operations.

On April 18, 1961, about 500 Panamanians marched into the Canal Zone, charging that planes that had attacked Cuba during the Bay of Pigs invasion had been taking off from an airstrip in Panama used by the U.S. government.

January 9 demonstration

The bloodiest clash in Panamanian history occurred on January 9, 1964. More than twenty

Panamanians died and about 500 were injured when Canal Zone police and U.S. troops fired on a demonstration of thousands of unarmed Panamanians.

On December 30, 1963, Canal Zone Governor Gen. Robert Fleming had announced that starting January 1 the Panamanian flag would be flown along with the stars and stripes in specific places throughout the Canal Zone. He also said that the stars and stripes would no longer be flown in front of Canal Zone schools reserved for U.S. citizens or in several other public places.

However, U.S. residents refused to comply with the governor's order.

On January 9, a group of 200 Panamanian students visited Canal Zone authorities and received permission to fly the Panamanian colors alongside a U.S. flag that had been raised in front of Balboa High School.

What happened next was described in Mexico City daily *El Día* of January 14, 1964.

The North American police of the Canal Zone intercepted them and the boys agreed that a delegation of five of them should go up to the flag pole of the school to sing their national anthem and display their ensign. While they were singing, the North American students poked fun at them and began singing their anthem. The Panamanian students were then invited by the police to get going. They had a discussion with the police, as can be seen in newsreels, and the North American students then surrounded the delegation of five.

The newsreel shows how the police proceeded to push the Panamanian youths and the menacing gestures of the Yankee students. The two hundred ran to join their comrades and then the police attacked the whole group, throwing tear gas. Their feelings aroused, the boys broke lamps and threw chunks of garbage, spreading out in various directions, trying to plant small Panamanian flags. Then the police began shooting, wounding several.

When the retreating students were joined by other Panamanians, "the armed forces of the Canal Zone went into action with heavy, long-range weaponry," reported the August 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social*. "Rifles, machine guns, and tanks stretched along the border from one end to the other. They fired without interruption at the unarmed crowd."

The article in *El Día* estimated that 20,000 Panamanians participated in the protests.

Demonstrations demanding sovereignty over the Canal Zone have taken place regularly ever since on the anniversary of the 1964 massacre.

Torrijos tries to blunt struggle

With the seizure of power by the demagogic Gen. Omar Torrijos in 1969, the independent dynamic of the movement for self-determination was temporarily blunted.

On October 11, 1971, for instance, the biggest demonstration in the history of the country took place around the theme of opposition to the U.S.

presence. The *New York Times* estimated that about 200,000 persons attended a celebration called by the regime to mark the third anniversary of the coup that later brought Torrijos to power.

However, by 1974, there were clear signs that Torrijos needed more than mere rhetoric to keep the lid on the dissatisfaction.

When Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to Panama in February of that year to sign an agreement with Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack outlining the "principles" for negotiation of a new treaty, he was met by students and trade unionists carrying banners that said "One Country Under One Flag," "End Colonialism."

New York Times correspondent David Binder commented perspicaciously, "... the militant leftists gave General Torrijos a taste of what he might face if he got 'too soft' in the canal negotiations with the Americans."

During 1974 and 1975, Panamanians working in the Canal Zone had also been waging a struggle against the racist discrimination they suffer in employment working for the U.S. government.

Breadth of nationalist movement

The 1975 commemoration of the 1964 massacre gave an indication of the breadth the movement for self-determination was attaining in the student movement. In September of 1975 transport workers blocked all access routes to the Canal Zone for forty-five minutes while students blocked the Panama Railroad to protest Kissinger's statement that the Pentagon wanted to retain its unilateral right to defend the canal and the Canal Zone under the new treaty being negotiated.

Less than a week later, more than 5,000 Panamanian students demonstrated against the U.S. military bases. The protest, which took place in front of the U.S. Embassy in Panama City, was broken up by National Guardsmen.

The *Washington Post* reported in its September 24, 1975, issue that the students "denounced both the U.S. and Panamanian governments for agreeing to defend the Panama Canal jointly. . . ."

Such open criticism of Torrijos has become increasingly common in the movement to end the U.S. presence in Panama.

The Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League), the Panamanian Trotskyist organization, evaluated the importance of the fight for self-determination in a November 1976 resolution:

"Historically, the struggle for the Canal Zone has been seen as part of the fight for national liberation, and not linked up with a program for social revolution. This is still the case today. But for revolutionists, the struggle for national self-determination has to be combined with the task of social liberation."

(Next: Carter's Stance in the Current Talks)



1959 demonstration to plant the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. Such actions have been an important part of the movement against U.S. imperialism in Panama.

NAACP and the Black movement

Why strategy of largest civil rights group cannot halt gov't attacks

By John Hawkins and Omari Musa

Since the beginning of this year, government attacks on the rights and living standards of Blacks have increased alarmingly in both intensity and scope.

School desegregation, affirmative action, open housing, welfare and unemployment benefits, abortion rights—all these have been targets of the assault by Congress, the courts, and the Carter administration.

This concerted government offensive poses an important responsibility for the leaderships of Black organizations across the country: first, to accurately and truthfully explain the real dangers of this government onslaught; and second, to develop a strategy to organize and lead the Black communities to counter it.

This was the challenge confronting NAACP leaders at the association's sixty-eight annual convention in St. Louis June 27-July 1.

How well did they meet that challenge?

Faulty balance sheet

Throughout the convention, in speeches and statements to the press, NAACP leaders were unable to confront the real meaning of the government attacks.

And even during the five-day convention itself, these attacks continued:

- On June 27 the Supreme Court overturned the Dayton school desegregation plan. Although the court allowed the plan to continue another year, it laid down stricter requirements for ordering city-wide busing plans;
- On June 28 the Senate attached a crippling antibusing amendment to the appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare;
- On June 29 the Supreme Court overturned two more busing plans—Omaha, Nebraska, and Milwaukee—on the basis of the new, stricter Dayton guidelines.

These fresh attacks brought a confused response from NAACP leaders. Most of them minimized the impact of the Dayton decision. They responded to the Senate antibusing amendment with surprise. And they had nothing to say about the court's Omaha and Milwaukee rulings.

This same desire to minimize the impact of recent attacks on Black rights was also revealed in a workshop entitled "Supreme Court and our rights: the effect of the intent standard on civil rights legislation."

This referred to several recent Supreme Court decisions on housing, schools, and employment that deliberate *intent* to discriminate must be proved, not just the *fact* of discrimination, in order to justify court action to correct such inequities.

Several NAACP leaders sought to dismiss the adverse impact that the court's new *intent* standard will have on the struggle for Black rights.

Even though the NAACP leadership took strong positions on many other questions, such as affirmative action, this attempt to downplay the signifi-



NAACP National Board of Directors Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson and Executive Director-designate Benjamin Hooks.

cance of the overall government assault is a danger signal.

At the very least it serves to disarm the movement by fostering a distorted view of the real situation.

At worst, if continued over a period of time, it will ultimately lead to a total abandonment by the NAACP of any active struggle against the attacks.

Inadequate strategy

Having understated the depth of these attacks, it would have been impossible for the NAACP leadership to propose an adequate strategy to combat them.

On one front, however, the leadership chose to take a demonstrative stand: the *Bakke* "reverse discrimination" case currently before the Supreme Court. This case involves a California Supreme Court ruling last year striking down special minority admissions programs in the state university system.

A look at the strategy proposed to reverse this attack on affirmative action reveals a great deal about the overall strategy of the NAACP leadership.

At a workshop on the *Bakke* decision, panelists correctly pointed to the grave implications of the case. "We face the situation where we could be worse off after *Bakke* than we were before the 1954 *Brown* decision [the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated schools]," said Howard University Prof. Herbert Reid.

Workshop panelist Nathaniel Colley described in detail the friend-of-the-court brief filed by the NAACP with the Supreme Court. The panelists

pointed out that reversing the *Bakke* decision would be a prime task for the NAACP in the fall.

When Reid and other panelists were asked by workshop participants how they could help ensure a favorable Supreme Court decision, the NAACP leaders responded that what is needed is a change in "climate" in the country.

NAACP General Counsel Nathaniel Jones made the only concrete suggestion—a media campaign to counter the false argument of "reverse discrimination." As important as debating the racist opponents of affirmative action is, however, such a media campaign alone cannot do the job.

Reversing the anti-Black "climate" of the courts, Congress, and the government as a whole will take a major shake-up, something akin to the massive protests of the 1960s and early 1970s, and the recent outpouring of hundreds of thousands in defense of gay rights.

Instead, what the NAACP leaders projected to reverse the *Bakke* decision boiled down to a legal brief and letter-writing campaign.

No new direction

This same strategy was elaborated in a speech by NAACP executive director-designate Benjamin Hooks at the NAACP Freedom Fund Awards Banquet.

Hooks explained the "historic" tactics of the NAACP in the fight against race discrimination: "1) litigation in the courts, 2) affecting and effecting legislation through lobbying presentation to the Congress, 3) voter registra-

tion, education, and participation, 4) direct action, 5) education, negotiation, conciliation."

Although Hooks listed direct action as part of the NAACP's "historic" approach, the truth is that it has always been subordinated to litigation, lobbying, and electioneering—that is, "working within the system."

How successful has the NAACP been in the recent period in winning victories through this approach?

During the 1976 presidential election, the NAACP leadership and other Black groups organized "Operation Big Vote." Although formally nonpartisan, its aim was to turn out the Black vote for Carter and other Democrats.

At its 1976 convention the NAACP urged its members not to vote for Gerald Ford. In the context of the two-party shell game, this was tantamount to calling for a vote for Carter.

The NAACP leadership *hoped* that things would get better for Blacks if Carter won. But after six months in office Carter has not only failed to deliver on his campaign promises, *he is presiding over the most intense attacks on Black rights in decades.*

Carter appointee Attorney General Griffin Bell assumed office promising to seek a revision of school desegregation law to limit city-wide busing plans.

Another Carter appointee, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano, has refused to use the department's power to cut off federal education aid to segregated school systems.

Meanwhile, Carter's attack on welfare, his energy program, and his failure to provide jobs for unemployed workers hit hardest at Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

The association's lobbying has fared no better. Despite the efforts of the NAACP's well-oiled machine in Washington, the Senate and House of Representatives voted into law a series of anti-Black measures.

And in the area of the NAACP's most intense concentration—litigation—the courts, led by the U.S. Supreme Court, have also struck severe blows.

Yet despite the failure of its "historic" strategy, the NAACP leadership still clings to it. This refusal to reassess its strategy makes it impossible for the NAACP to wage a consistent struggle against the government onslaught.

Belief in the system

Behind the failure of the NAACP leadership to accurately size up the government assault and lead a struggle to combat it stands their unquestioning loyalty to the American capitalist system and its governmental institutions.

This commitment to the private-profit system dictates their strategy of working through the courts, the legislatures, and the presidency to win reforms for Blacks.

And it is this commitment that places the NAACP leadership in fundamental agreement with U.S. foreign

policy around the world, including southern Africa.

Although the NAACP is nominally nonpartisan, its electioneering through voter registration drives and other avenues is designed to turn out the Black vote for liberal Democratic and Republican Party "friends of Blacks."

By electing liberals to office, the NAACP leadership expects to receive favors on legislation it supports. It also expects appointments of Blacks to positions within the government.

This loyalty to the capitalist system also underlies the NAACP's opposition to more militant forms of direct action involving masses of Black working people and students.

The NAACP leadership has initiated some direct-action protests, marches, pickets, and rallies. But from their point of view direct action poses a danger of upsetting their collaborative relationships with employers, the government, and the courts.

Moreover, such actions involving the Black masses themselves have a dynamic of their own that NAACP leaders fear.

Mass action brings Blacks into direct political confrontation with the government, calling into question the notion that progress is made primarily through governmental institutions. As a result, such actions can grow rapidly into a broader, more powerful movement of Blacks—one the NAACP leadership is powerless to control—that begins to pose a fundamental challenge to the capitalist system itself.

This is why the NAACP leadership seeks to hold back the struggle, to gloss over the severity and depth of the government's assault, and to divert the struggle for Black equality into "safe" channels.

Capitalism and racism

But this perspective of the NAACP leadership also brings them into conflict with their stated goal of eliminating the racial oppression of Blacks, because racism is rooted in the American capitalist system.

Ever since Blacks were first brought to this country, they have played the role of a superexploited section of the work force.

As slaves, Blacks provided the southern plantation economy with a dirt cheap source of labor. The enslavement of Blacks, the slave trade, and the inhuman conditions the slaves were forced to work and live under were all justified by the plantation owners through racist ideology. They propagated a system of myths: Black inferiority; a savage and cultureless Africa; the civilizing influence of slavery; the childlike Black who needed the guidance of "massa."

Following the Reconstruction period, in the late 1870s, Blacks were forced again into a superexploited economic role as sharecroppers and an underpaid reserve labor force—hired during periods of economic expansion and fired at the beginning of a downturn.

The new northern industrial masters put the ideology of racism to use to justify this highly profitable oppression of Blacks. The rulers said that Blacks couldn't find good jobs—and often any job at all—because of their own innate inferiority, not because of any fault in the system.

But racism also plays another important role for the capitalists. It helps them to divide and rule the American working class as a whole. Racism is used to convince white working people that any decline in their standard of living is the fault of Black people, "welfare cheats," and "illegal aliens."

By setting white against Black in competition for scarce jobs, housing, and education, capitalism diverts attention from its own inability to provide for the working population despite this country's enormous resources and productive capability.

New problems

This conflict between the NAACP leadership's stated aims and its support for the very system that profits

from maintaining racial oppression is sharper today than at any time in the past thirty years.

During the 1950s and 1960s the situation the Black movement confronted was significantly different from what it confronts today. The American capitalists had emerged victorious and stronger than ever from World War II. They enjoyed a huge economic edge over their imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan.

In addition, the role of Blacks in the work force had undergone a major change. Because of the massive Black migration to the urban centers during the war and the mechanization of southern agriculture, Blacks were now mainly concentrated in the cities as industrial and service workers.

This set the stage for the rise of a massive Black movement, inspired by the upsurge in the colonial revolution, in the 1950s and 1960s. This movement forced the government to grant concessions.

Among these concessions was the abolition of Jim Crow legal segregation that existed in the South. This system—designed to keep Blacks virtually tied to the land—had outgrown its usefulness to the ruling rich. In addition, it was an impediment to the new diplomatic and political challenges posed by the rise of the colonial revolution.

But without the intervention of the Black movement, the inroads made on segregation could not have been as swift or extensive.

These gains were also codified in law:

- The right of Black youth to equal education in the 1954 *Brown* school desegregation decision;
- The 1964 Civil Rights Act, which outlawed segregation in public accommodations, barred discrimination in federally funded or assisted programs, and outlawed discrimination in employment; and
- The 1965 Voting Rights Act, which codified the right of Blacks to vote in the South after years of battle.

One of the most important gains was the weakening of job discrimination in many industries. Affirmative-action programs were set up in scores of public and private companies. This brought about a modest but meaningful narrowing of the income gap between Blacks and whites.

As a result of these victories, many in U.S. Black communities thought a new day had dawned promising full equality.

Throughout this period, the national

NAACP leadership at best paid lip service to the struggle, which was beyond their control. At worst they stood in its way.

They were critical of the mass-action approach of more militant and even moderate civil rights leaders. Many, like Martin Luther King, who began in the NAACP, later left because of the association's opposition to direct action.

In addition, in the early 1960s the NAACP staunchly opposed the growing desire among Blacks for independent political action, outside the two-party framework—a sentiment that gave rise to the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, and the Freedom Now Party in Michigan.

Today the Black struggle no longer faces the outworn trappings of Jim Crow, but the racist discrimination imbedded in the capitalist system itself. In this situation, any steps forward will mean inroads on the jealously guarded prerogatives of the capitalist class.

Moreover, the ruling rich in America are in no position to grant further significant concessions. By the end of the 1960s they were confronting increasing economic competition from their rivals in Europe and Japan.

Since 1971 with Nixon's wage freeze, the ruling class has been on an offensive to drive down the standard of living of all American working people. And one of the prime targets and victims of this offensive has been Blacks.

This offensive was accelerated and deepened by the 1974-75 depression, which brought with it the wave of cutbacks in social services, and the simultaneous assault on such social gains as school desegregation, affirmative action, abortion, and welfare.

This drive is the framework surrounding the anti-Black assault by Carter, Congress, and the Supreme Court. As these assaults deepen, so does the conflict between the NAACP leadership's advocacy of Black equality and its support for capitalism.

New struggles

If the Black communities across the country are to meet the challenge posed by the employer and government onslaught, they will have to rely on their own organized strength.

In this new struggle rich lessons can be drawn from the past thirty years of the fight for Black equality. The most important is that concessions were not won because talented attorneys filed

legal briefs, or because personable lobbyists persuaded liberal Democrats, or because Black leaders exchanged election-day support of a presidential candidate for his assurance of backing legislation.

The key to the victories of the 1950s and 1960s was the nationwide massive movement of Black workers and students in hundreds of direct-action protests.

This movement and the ghetto explosions of the late 1960s demonstrated the ability of 22 million Blacks to challenge the status quo and win. Such a movement is urgently needed today, to again mobilize this potential power in the fight for Black equality.

Already Blacks across the country have shown a willingness to fight back. The resistance of Boston's Black community to attempts to turn back school desegregation shows this. So did the turnout of thousands from across the country May 17, 1975, for the NAACP-called probusing march in that city.

Across the country Blacks have continued to protest in small but significant numbers for jobs, against police brutality, in defense of victims of racist frame-ups, in defense of affirmative action and to reverse the *Bakke* decision, for unionization of industry in the South, in defense of women's rights, and in opposition to the U.S. government's support to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

What's needed is to translate this potential power into a campaign of independent Black political action: a nationwide direct-action movement to counter the attacks; and the marshaling of the Black vote behind Black candidates independent of, and in opposition to, the Democratic and Republican parties.

Organizing such a campaign requires the participation of thousands of Black activists in deciding the necessary strategy and tactics. This can be done best by convening a national conference of the Black movement—including members and leaders of national civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, local Black community organizations, and Black women's, students, and trade-union groups.

Through organizing and leading such a struggle, a new leadership will emerge prepared to lead the fight for Black equality against any challenge.

This is the perspective that Black revolutionary socialists in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are fighting for.



Mass actions like the 1963 civil rights March on Washington wrung concessions from the ruling class

'The Woman Warrior'

The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts, by Maxine Hong Kingston. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1977. 209 pages, \$7.95.

The Woman Warrior is a powerful book by an angry Chinese-American woman. Kingston writes that her memoirs are a kind of vengeance against her enemies: racists and "tyrants who for whatever reason can deny my family food and work." She wants to be accepted as a fighter, a swordswoman—not as the Confucian model of wife and slave.

Maxine Hong Kingston grew up in a Stockton, California, laundry. Her memories of childhood are of racism, poverty, sexism, and rebellion.

Kingston flunked kindergarten and was assigned a zero IQ because she didn't speak English. Along with her

his medical career by being a hostess and nurse.

Moon Orchid went mad and was institutionalized.

Many Chinese immigrants' children, unlike their parents, embrace American values and standards in an attempt to escape the problems of being Chinese in a racist society.

Kingston describes how she was embarrassed by her mother's Chinese manners. She reddened and became dumb when her mother made her bargain when shopping. She writes that she would "rather live on plastic" than on the leftover squid her family ate.

She learned to be ashamed as soon as she entered school. In kindergarten she became the butt of jokes when she drank from a toy saucer. She soon lost her powers of assertion and croaked when asked to recite before the class. She and her sister were sent to a speech therapist.

Kingston also despised her parents' Confucian sex stereotypes. Girls were considered "maggots," "useless," and "bad luck."

When Kingston reached puberty, her mother warned her about sex. She told her about an aunt who was harassed by villagers and forced to commit suicide after giving birth to an illegitimate baby. "What happened to her

To become "American-feminine" became Kingston's overriding concern. She "invented an American-feminine speaking personality." She and her friends taped their eyelids—the temporary equivalent of the Japanese operation to acquire extra "Western" folds in the eyelids.

When her mother attempted to arrange a marriage for her, Kingston's frustrations erupted in anger. But she reproached Brave Orchid for more than trying to impose a Confucian woman's role upon her. Having fully adopted the American dream for her own, she blamed her mother for miseducating her, for not teaching her English, for confusing her with stories of China that weren't applicable to American reality.

Kingston's family is anticommunist. Like many Chinese-American families, Kingston had relatives in China who were executed during the revolution.

Still, as a woman, Kingston applauds the gains women made through the revolution against girl slavery and girl infanticide. "... Girls would no longer have to kill themselves rather than get married."

Despite the racist stereotype that all radical Chinese-Americans are Maoists, Kingston doesn't blindly support the policies of the People's Republic of China. She writes that she is "confused" by the news from China. She'd like to visit China to sort out her roots.

Kingston, as all Chinese-Americans, may be curious about the developments in China, but she recognizes that all our futures are bound up with America's. Thus she finds the Chinese silence in the face of racism against them infuriating. "Sometimes I hated the ghosts for not letting us talk; sometimes I hated the secrecy of the Chinese."

The inscrutable mask which Chinatowns turned to American eyes may have protected illegal immigrants in the past. But today it only hides the exploitation and suffering of Chinese. "Lie to Americans. Don't report crimes; tell them we have no crimes and no poverty. Pay the new immigrants twenty-five cents an hour and say we have no unemployment."

Kingston still feels that her parents are disappointed with her. "I went away to college—Berkeley in the '60's—and I studied and I marched to change the world, but I did not turn into a boy."

Yet it was Kingston's mother who told her the stories of fighting women. She taught her of the woman who invented the white crane school of boxing and the legend of the woman warrior who led a peasant army against a corrupt emperor and avaricious barons who conscripted her brothers.

"When we Chinese girls listened to the adults talking-story we learned that we failed if we grew up to be but wives or slaves. We could be heroines, swordswomen."

Kingston's mother can be proud of her filial daughter, for Maxine Hong Kingston is not a wife-slave. She is an honest writer, a woman warrior.

—Katherine Pon



Floyd K. Takeuchi

MAXINE HONG KINGSTON

could happen to you," her mother warned. "Don't humiliate us. . . . The villagers are watching."

Kingston rebelled. She broke dishes while washing them, asking, "Isn't a bad girl almost a boy?"

Yet, as she grew older, the American ideal of the attractive woman loomed large. She hated herself and other Chinese girls who were quiet, fragile, neat, dressed in pastels.

Kingston describes how she caught a younger Chinese girl, quiet with a China-doll haircut, and pummeled her, saying, "Talk! . . . Don't you ever want to be a cheerleader? Or a pompon girl?"

Temple Univ. hospital staff continues strike

By Mike Finley

PHILADELPHIA—Eight of the ten hospitals here due to be struck on July 1 by workers of District 1199C of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees settled just before the strike deadline.

A ninth hospital, Wills Eye, agreed to essentially the same contract after a brief three-hour walkout July 1.

Most of the unions' demands were won, including a thirty-dollar pay increase spread over two years and preservation of the union benefit plan. The proposed contracts were approved by the membership at ratification meetings July 5.

However, the tenth hospital, Temple University Hospital, refused to come to any agreement with the union.

After extending the strike deadline, 1199C struck Temple University Hospital July 7. More than 2,000 workers are involved in the walkout, including hundreds of clerical workers on the university campus.

At the issue is Temple's refusal to match the pay increase won by 1199C workers at the other hospitals.

In response to the union's large, militant picket lines, the hospital administration secured a court injunction July 8, limiting pickets to four at any one location. Eight pickets were arrested.

A hysterical campaign of lies has been organized by the media and hospital administration. Horror stories about children bleeding to death in their stretchers have been concocted in order to put the onus for the hospital shutdown on the union.

In fact, the union has set up an emergency committee to handle the treatment of critical patients, but the media have chosen to ignore this. In addition, the employers have brought scabs into the hospital.

The union has responded by calling for a resumption of mass picketing on July 11, despite the injunction. It has appealed to 1199C members in other hospitals to join the Temple picket.

1199C has called also for a support rally for the embattled strikers for July 12 in front of Temple University Hospital.

300 hit gov't for okaying nuke plant

By William Fisher

BOSTON—More than 300 people demonstrated here June 27 against the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's approval of the cooling system for the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant.

The EPA approved the proposed system despite strong evidence that it will do severe damage to marine life.

The plant will require 1.2 billion gallons of sea water daily and will return the water to the ocean thirty-nine degrees hotter. The change in temperature may destroy aquatic life that requires cold water.

Speakers at the rally included Dr. Helen Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician who played a leading role in getting Australia's labor movement to oppose uranium mining, and Dr. George Wald, Nobel Prize-winning biologist.

Wald noted that Seabrook was a national test case. He said that government "regulatory" agencies are actually advocates of nuclear power.

The rally was called by the Clamshell Alliance, the group that organized the April 30-May 1 sit-in at Seabrook.

'U.S. Labor Party' calls for rightist coalition

By Arnold Weissberg

The July 1 issue of *New Solidarity*, newspaper of the "U.S. Labor Party," provides fresh evidence that the USLP in no way represents the interests of labor and has in fact become a fascistlike group.

The July 1 issue prominently displays American flags above its masthead.

More important, however, is the paper's message. In a front-page article by editor-in-chief Nancy Spannaus, the USLP (which also goes by the name National Caucus of Labor Committees) calls for a "new Whig Coalition"—an amalgam of the American right wing.


Spannaus says that this coalition should include "the [anti-abortion] Right to Lifers, American Independent Party members [George Wallace backers], Reagan Republicans and conservative Democrats who are organizing against Carter throughout the Midwest."

These groups, Spannaus says, "have not yet grasped either their social force, nor the kind of economic development program which can bring them out of opposition into power."

But, she says, "If this movement consolidates under the leadership of the Labor Party, it can soon retake the country from the deathgrip of the Rockefeller cancer."


What is the USLP's "economic development program"?

"All the essential elements of the political-economic science pioneered by [Benjamin] Franklin and [Alexander]



BUILD THE WHIG COALITION!

NEW SOLIDARITY



Newspaper of the National Caucus of Labor Committees and the U.S. Labor Party
Vol. VIII, No. 36
July 1, 1977

Hamilton are encapsulated in the current [USLP top leader Lyndon] LaRouche proposal for a private International Development Bank and a Third National Bank for the United States."

(These references to Hamilton and Franklin explain the USLP's use of the term "Whig Coalition," a reference to the rising northern industrial capitalists in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century U.S. history.)

The USLP also hopes to woo to its new coalition the most backward sections of the U.S. working class—the relatively privileged white workers in the craft unions, as well as the bureaucrats who run those unions.

The USLP's program, however, does not serve the true interests of this or any other section of the working class. It is virulently antilabor.

Spannaus describes her recent two-week Midwest tour to contact various right-wing groups. The Right-to-Lifers—the shock troops of the attack on women's right to choose abortion—are, in Spannaus's opinion, actually "an extensive national grouping that is uniformly anti-Rockefeller." Spannaus reports she was invited to speak at a Right to Life national conference,

where she was well-received.

She also notes proudly that the USLP is working closely with the American Independent Party in Wisconsin.

The USLP, however, is putting its chips on the Ronald Reagan Republicans. "These Republicans," says Spannaus, "are beginning to internalize the urgency of the current situation to the point of using the Labor Party against their Rockefeller-controlled Republican opponents, and considering more lasting alliances."

The friendly relationship between the USLP and conservative Republicans dates back to at least last November, when a group described by *New Solidarity* as "conservative Republican businessmen" helped raise \$96,000 to get USLP presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche on national television.

Spannaus writes of her meeting with a Cincinnati Republican club. The topic of their discussion? "A return to a labor-industrial alliance for industrial progress."

"None of these movements, however, can be forged into an effective American Whig movement without the solid weight of the country's trade unionists, the working class, behind it. Some of these unionists will come into the Whig Coalition through their own institutions, such as the Building Trade Unions who have been in the forefront of the fight for nuclear power development. . . ."

The USLP cheered the June 26 pronuclear rally in Manchester, New Hampshire, that was financed by the utilities and built by them in conjunction with the bureaucrats of several construction unions. This reactionary action, Spannaus says, marked the kickoff of the "Whig Coalition."

Spannaus notes that the USLP did all it could to make the rally a success, despite efforts by march organizers to shoo the party away.

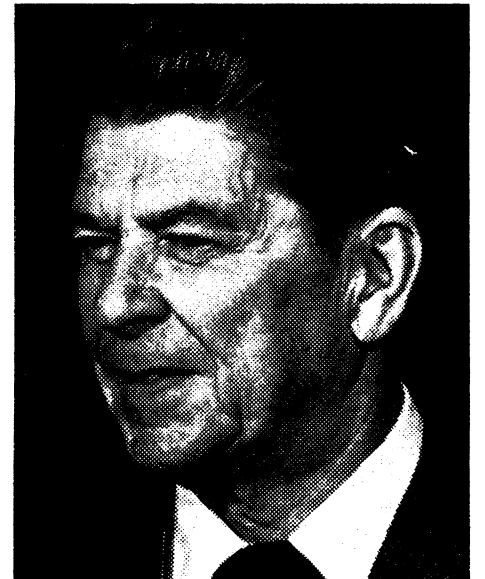
The USLP is fanatically pronuclear. Recently released New Hampshire police files prove that the USLP acted as spies and stoolpigeons for the cops prior to the April 30-May 1 antinuclear sit-in at the Seabrook, New Hampshire, reactor site (see the July 1 *Militant*).

Spannaus notes that the USLP gets its best response from craft unions such as the building-trades unions. "These are the unions," she explains, "who, as compared with the industrial unions, have had the highest standard of living. . . . While the likes of the UAW [United Auto Workers] was fighting for jobs for everyone at the menial, back-breaking level that typifies the auto assembly line, many

Continued on page 30



USLP wants new coalition with George Wallace supporters . . .



. . . and backers of Ronald Reagan.

Antigay venom

The same issue of *New Solidarity* that outlines the U.S. Labor Party's proposed "Whig Coalition" also includes a venomously antigay editorial, headlined "These Are Your Children."

The editorial refers to homosexuality as "faggotry" and calls the recent massive gay rights demonstrations "fascist mob scenes . . . enacted across the country."

"A careful reading of even the New York Times' overblown account of these affairs," says *New Solidarity*, "reveals that the parades were heavily beefed up with the usual 'community group' Institute for Policy Studies terror regulars from the Weatherunderground, the Socialist Workers Party, and Paul Zisl's

Left Bank Bookstore, with the assorted political pimps like Bella Abzug. . . ."

The macho tone and reverence for the family typical of fascist demagoguery comes through clearly in the following passage: "Private homosexuality, after all, is only a more pathetic, more vicious form of the infantilism which we must all struggle against to become mature adults. In particularly those families in which the father is absent or is an extremely weak figure, and the mother is tied to a traditional woman's home-identity there is always a danger that children will remain trapped in a homosexual parody of the mother's psychosexual role." —A.W.

Arab student fights U.S. deportation threat

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO—Talal Sadi is a Palestinian student studying in the United States. He is also a victim of harassment by the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Because he refuses to "cooperate" with illegal FBI spying on the Palestinian community here, the government is trying to deport him.

In a recent interview, Sadi described the background of his case.

"For the Palestinian community in Chicago, harassment is not something new," he explained. "The FBI has been harassing the Palestinian community for many years."

"For me, the problem started early this year. Some of my friends called and told me that the FBI had come to them and asked about me—where I lived and what my activities at school and within the community were."

The FBI followed up this information-gathering by a personal visit to Sadi.

"An FBI man named Lou Brackseick came to my house on January 17, 1977," said Sadi. "When I asked him what he wanted, he told me: 'You can do a lot for us and we can do a lot for you.'" Brackseick went on to threaten Sadi if he didn't come to the FBI office later that day.

Sadi showed up, to tell the FBI he wouldn't provide them with any information. Brackseick questioned him about several people and their relationship to Palestinian liberation groups.

"I told him if he had something against me, I was going to defend myself," Sadi continued. "But if he needed information and names, I wasn't going to give him any."

As Sadi was leaving, Brackseick warned: "We have something against you." The FBI threatened to charge Sadi with working while going to school, a technical violation of his student visa status.

Why has the FBI targeted Sadi?

"Because I have been involved with

many organizations, legal organizations, within the state of Illinois, like the Organization of Arab Students, the General Union of Palestinian Students, the Arab-American Congress for Palestine, the Palestine Club, and the United Holy Land Fund," he explained. "That's why they came after me and asked me to work for them."

Sadi said the FBI wanted him to obtain a so-called secret file from the United Holy Land Fund, which the FBI claimed was sending money to Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon. Brackseick offered Sadi "\$600 to start." Sadi's response was: "Sorry, you've got the wrong guy."

As a result, the FBI turned over their "evidence" against Sadi to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The INS ordered him to appear at its office for an interview. There Sadi was questioned about unrelated matters, such as where he had been before coming to the United States.

Next, the INS scheduled a deportation hearing for Sadi on March 24.

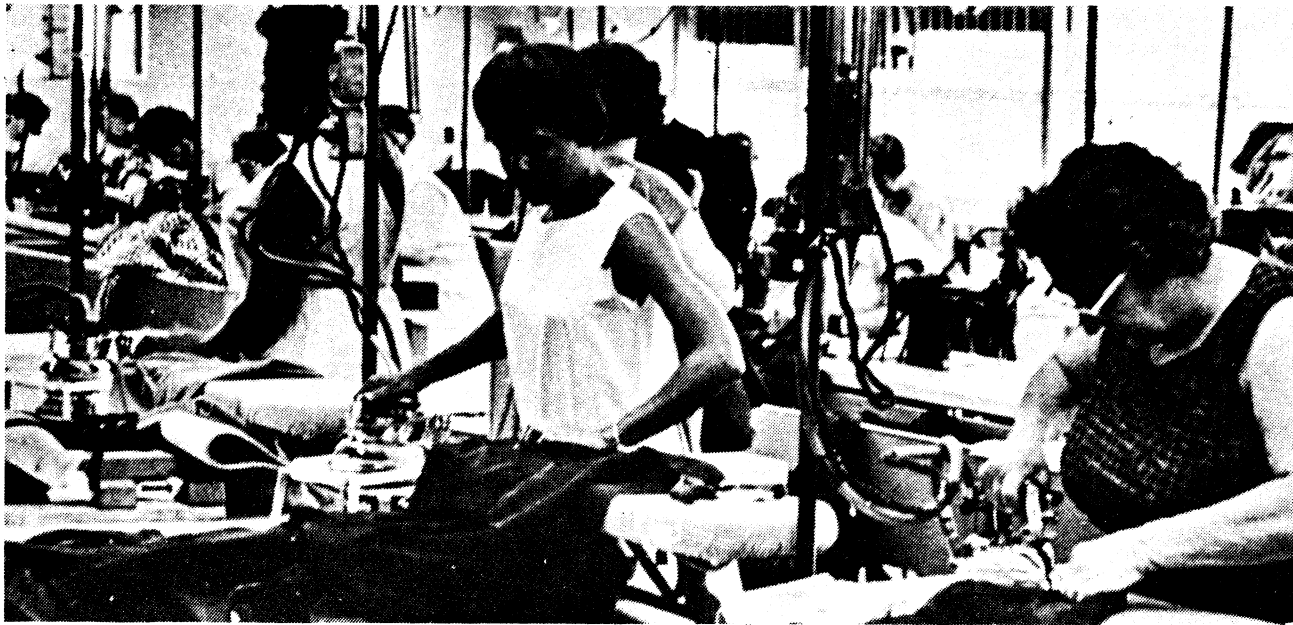
After two postponements, the hearing took place. Sadi's lawyer, John Alexander, presented the case of conspiracy between the FBI and the INS to victimize his client. Alexander requested that the FBI and INS agents involved in the case be subpoenaed.

However, Judge Anthony Petrone refused to subpoena the agents. Instead, he ended the proceedings for that day and set a new date, July 26, to continue the hearing.

Sadi talked about the support he has been able to gather in his defense. "I have talked to many prominent Palestinian people, intellectuals. They have offered support. I talked to the Organization of Arab Students. They offered their help and support. And I'm trying to talk to as many people as I can to bring them to the July 26 hearing at 9:00 a.m. at the INS office in Chicago."

Sadi is also urging his supporters to send telegrams of protest to Judge Anthony Petrone, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 219 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Affirmative action: major battleground for women's rights



Segregation of women into low-paying jobs, such as in garment trade, makes affirmative action a prerequisite for achieving women's equality.

By Cindy Jaquith
and Mary-Alice Waters

When Marilyn Butsey turned sixteen, she quit school and got married. Because she was Black, a woman, and a high school dropout, the best jobs she could get brought in only \$2.50 an hour.

Four years later Butsey got divorced. More than ever she needed a decent-paying job. When she heard that Ford's Vulcan Forge plant in Dearborn, Michigan, was hiring women, she decided to give it a try.

Today, Butsey operates a "hot press" at the plant and brings home \$6.88 an hour. The first months on the job weren't easy, but she was convinced that "it's gonna take at least one woman to go on through."



Butsey is one example of the affirmative-action gains in employment won by the Black, Chicano, and women's movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Butsey is also an exception, however. The vast majority of working women today remain trapped in the lowest-paying jobs. And affirmative action is under fire from the employers and their representatives in the courts, Congress, and the White House.

Defense of affirmative-action gains is a major challenge for today's women's movement. A look at the statistics on women workers shows why.

What facts show

In our June 24 article in this series, we pointed out that the number of women holding jobs has doubled from 1950 to 1975. At the same time, we noted, the gap between women's and men's average earnings has *widened*. In 1955, women took home 64 percent of what men earn. By 1974, the ratio had slipped to 57 percent.

The biggest reason for this is that as new women enter the labor force, they are concentrated in the lowest-paying jobs. According to a 1976 study by the Department of Labor:

- Two out of every five women workers are either employed in textiles or are service employees. Women are 64 percent of all health-care workers and 78 percent of all clerical workers;
- While one out of seven women workers holds down an industrial job, only five percent of the

higher-paid craft jobs are held by women; and

- 33 percent of all women workers make do with part-time jobs such as waitressing and typing, most often because of lack of full-time employment.

Thus a prerequisite for closing the pay gap between men and women and assuring economic equality for women is affirmative action—drastic measures, including quotas for hiring and promotions, to fully integrate women into the labor force at all levels. Nothing short of this can overcome the effects of sex discrimination.

But the capitalist system cannot tolerate such a fundamental change in the structure of the work force.

The segregation of women into the worst jobs at substandard pay enhances the bosses' ability to keep down the wages of all workers. It reinforces the myth that women are an expendable part of the work force and helps maintain the divisions among workers that prevent united struggles for better wages and job conditions.

Furthermore, economic discrimination against women is one of the foundations of the family system. The barriers to achieving complete economic independence force many women to accept intolerable family relationships because they fear the consequences of trying to support themselves and their children alone.

While the U.S. rulers have always opposed the changes implicit in the demand for affirmative action, they were forced to make concessions to this demand in the 1960s, under the massive pressure generated by the Black movement, and later, the women's movement. Hoping to head off bigger confrontations, the capitalists yielded to some affirmative-action suits and established hiring quotas in a few cases.

AT&T case

Perhaps the biggest affirmative-action victory for women was the 1973 American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) settlement.

The court found AT&T guilty of excluding both women and Blacks from craft jobs and management and of using biased tests in its southern offices to avoid hiring Blacks. AT&T was ordered to pay \$15 million in back pay to the workers victimized and \$23 million in raises.

The most important feature of the court's ruling in this case was that it ordered AT&T to implement an affirmative-action program to wipe out discrimination. Women were henceforth to be hired for 38 to 40 percent of the inside craft jobs and for 19 percent of the outside jobs.

This set an important precedent, legitimizing the use of quotas as the only way to force employers to end job segregation of women.

The AT&T ruling came as the long post-World War II boom and period of relative prosperity for

the U.S. economy was drawing to a close. As the 1974-75 depression hit, big business stepped up its efforts to make working people pay for capitalism's economic problems—by driving down wages, reducing social services, and laying off millions.

Affirmative action was a big obstacle standing in the way of this offensive. If the rulers were to make women, Blacks, undocumented workers, and youth bear the brunt of soaring unemployment, previous court rulings and the new social attitudes of many of these workers that they had a *right* to a job would have to be reversed.

Relatively more privileged white males would have to be told that affirmative action was in reality "reverse discrimination," that quotas posed a threat to their jobs. Blacks and women—the prime *victims* of the layoffs—would have to be transformed into the *cause* of high unemployment. The old myth that women belong in the home, not out "taking jobs away from men," would have to be reinforced.

Under the cover of such a propaganda campaign, designed to divert attention from the real cause of unemployment—the bosses' drive to increase profits—massive layoffs began in 1974 and 1975.

The unemployment rate for adult women rose steadily from 5.9 percent in late 1973 to 8.5 percent in mid-1975. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1977 report *Last Hired, First Fired: Layoffs and Civil Rights*, found that "where women have begun to be employed in nontraditional jobs, such as on the assembly line of automobile plants . . . they have been heavily affected by job loss."

In New York City, the massive layoffs of municipal employees during 1974-1975 drove out nearly a third of the women, 40 percent of the Black males, and half the Spanish-speaking workers.

'Strict seniority' debate

Rather than defending these workers, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which bases itself on the older, more secure white male workers, gave the employers just the handle they needed. The union bureaucrats demanded that "strict seniority" be upheld wherever layoffs occurred, regardless of the effect on affirmative action. Since women and Blacks had the least seniority, having been kept out of jobs for decades, they were the first to be fired.

The union misleaders tried to cover their racist, sexist opposition to affirmative action with demagoguery about fighting for "jobs for all." Their sorry record in protecting any workers from unemployment—the fruits of their class-collaborationist reliance on the Democrats and Republicans—has since eroded what illusions there were in the promise of a "jobs for all" campaign.

Such a campaign is desperately needed, but it is not counterposed to the fight for affirmative action. Rather, defending the rights of the most exploited workers is the best way to defend the rights of all workers. An attack by the bosses on any sector of the working class weakens the class and the unions as a whole. And if the labor movement fails to come to the aid of women and Black workers, it runs the risk of alienating this combative and growing sector of the union membership.

The debate over "strict seniority" has continued for three years. Women and Blacks have filed suits to demand a restructuring of the seniority system to protect affirmative-action gains. On May 31 of this year, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a long-awaited ruling on the question.

The Court ruled seven to two that seniority systems that perpetuate past racial discrimination are not necessarily illegal.

This landmark decision, a direct challenge to the concept of affirmative action for both Blacks and women, can now be seized upon by the employers, not only to curb new attempts to open jobs to the most oppressed workers, but also to roll back previous gains.

How fast the employers and the government move to reverse affirmative action will depend on the resistance they encounter.

A major test will be whether women and Blacks stand firm on the need for quotas to achieve genuine equality. The "quota issue" has come to the fore in this debate, with reactionary union bureaucrats such as Albert Shanker, head of the American Federation of Teachers, leading the offensive to eliminate the quota system.

Bosses' quota system

The arguments of Shanker and his ilk are a cover for the real "quota system" capitalism has used for centuries—to exclude the most oppressed workers from higher-paying jobs and pit white male workers against women and Blacks.

But the fight to defend all jobs and upgrade the status of the most exploited workers is not a fight between women and men workers or between Black

and white workers. It is a fight in the interests of all workers and against the interests of all employers.

The women's movement, and particularly its largest component, the National Organization for Women, has an important role to play in this fight.

NOW has been involved in numerous affirmative action suits in the past and has traditionally fought through the courts to increase the hiring and promotion of women.

Today, what is needed first and foremost is a broad educational and action campaign, including court challenges, to defend affirmative action and unite women with their allies in the Black and labor movements around this issue.

Unity between NOW and Black groups fighting for affirmative action, such as the NAACP, is especially crucial. But unfortunately, the employers' divide-and-rule strategy on affirmative action has permeated the thinking of conservative forces in NOW.

For example, a report on affirmative action in state hiring in Minnesota, published last year by the Twin Cities NOW leadership, noted the deficiencies in gains for women under the program and then blamed them on the gains won by Black men. By counterposing the two, the NOW leadership drew a strong protest from the Twin Cities Black community. A debate also developed within the NOW chapter, with many members opposing the racist conclusions of the report.

However, at NOW's national conference in April, when a number of Twin Cities NOW members demanded a condemnation of the report, the NOW leadership refused to bring it up for discussion, claiming it was a "local issue."

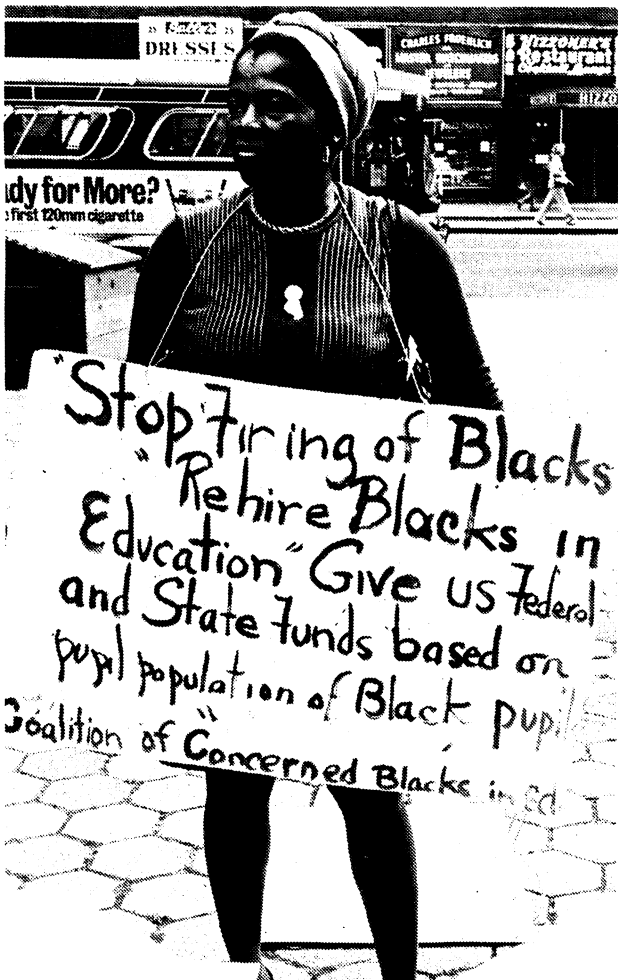
But the report has serious national implications for NOW and the priority it must give to the fight for affirmative action for all victims of discrimination, Black and white. It must be repudiated.

CLUW's role

The pressure of the bosses' offensive has also been reflected among women's rights groups in the labor movement, most importantly in the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Winning affirmative action in the workplace was one of the founding goals of CLUW. But when the recession hit, the majority of CLUW's leaders refused to challenge the "strict seniority" line of the United Auto Workers and AFL-CIO bureaucracy. At its 1975 convention, the CLUW leadership refused to consider motions to reverse CLUW's reactionary position on this question. This has crippled CLUW's ability ever since to defend women workers on the job.

But as the attacks on affirmative action intensify, more women will look for a way to fight back—both through their unions and through the women's movement. An uncompromising fight to defend affirmative action must be one of the cornerstones of the program of groups such as NOW, CLUW, and other women's rights groups.

A resolute struggle for affirmative action will also strengthen the labor movement, placing it in the best position to respond in a united fashion to the economic offensive of the employers.



Militant/Lou Howort

Defense of affirmative-action quotas is a key test for women's, Black, and labor movements today.

NAACP hearing: 'Police are an occupation army in Phila.'

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—The mayor of this town, Frank Rizzo, rose to national notoriety as a tough-talking, "law and order" police chief, who spoke loudly and carried a bigger billy club. He won his spurs by smashing up gay bars in the 1950s and sending thugs in blue to battle the Black community in the 1960s.

With Rizzo in city hall, the cops have had a green light to wage war against any and all who get in the way of their ruthless application of "justice."

In the last several weeks this official terror exploded in the media here in sensational coverage of wanton cop violence.

On June 18 the five branches of the Philadelphia NAACP brought the mounting tension to a head. The civil rights organization sponsored a day-long hearing featuring testimony by victims of and witnesses to Philadelphia police terror. More than 200 people attended.

* * *

Spencer Cox, the soft-spoken Quaker who directs the city's American Civil Liberties Union, set a backdrop for the hearing.

"Today," Cox said, "we will hear authenticated accounts of beatings and torture, cruelty, racial insults, perjury, humiliation, harassment, and political oppression routinely inflicted on the people of Philadelphia by its police force."

The cops, he said, "distinguish between rich and poor, the powerful and the powerless. We will have no stockbrokers as witnesses today."

Cox rejected the claim that police brutality is caused by "a few bad apples." "The police are an occupation army in Philadelphia," he said. We are confronting "a policy, a system."

* * *

James Crandall is a fifty-one-year-old Black man. Between 1973 and 1975 he was arrested thirteen times for bookmaking. He has never been convicted. He told of repeated searches and harassment that forced him to sell his small corner store and go onto welfare. "My children are ashamed," he said softly. His skin color explains why the cops, always white, subject him to this. The police cruelly fabricate "aliases." "Wobbly Willie," because of his walk. "Killer Kane Crandall," because he uses a cane. He has multiple sclerosis. One of his arrests was the hundredth bust made by the cops in a month. They put a dunce cap on him and took pictures of him in a jail cell. To celebrate.

* * *

Helen Gagliardi's story is half a decade old. Her son was walking home from a coffee shop. He was mistaken by police for "someone else," pursued by car and on foot, beaten to a pulp, shot twice, and then left on a doorstep as his life oozed out. For the past five years she has been seeking justice, and for the past five years the police and the city have been stalling.

"They offered me \$5,000 for my boy," she said, her blue eyes filling with tears. "Like he was a pair of shoes." She has won a suit settlement for \$116,000 that the Rizzo administration opposes paying and has appealed. "I don't care about the money," Gagliardi said.

She is a widow and, since her son's death, has been under medical supervision, unable to work. "He was all I had," she said. When asked the name of the cop who killed her son, her voice did not falter. "Robert Flint," she spat out, along with his badge number. He is still on the force.

* * *

Ronnie Walker was strolling to a variety store in the Black community of North Philadelphia. He and his buddy Lester Anderson were in the wrong place at the wrong time. The police were swarming on the corner, trying to break up an argument by a couple of teen-agers they "believed" was a gang fight. Walker heard the cops telling people to disperse. But he did not see them rush him from behind. Walker was beaten in the head and ribs. Anderson's lower lip was almost ripped off by the blackjack blow of a cop. Walker's grandmother's house nearby was invaded by cops as the two youths fled to it. Invaded and ransacked. Neither Walker nor Anderson were convicted.



Militant/Jon Hillson

June 18 NAACP hearing exposed myth that police brutality is caused by a few 'bad apples' on the force.

Walker is also known as Baby Kid Chocolate. Until he was battered by the police, he was a world-class bantamweight boxer, undefeated in seventeen bouts. He lost his next two fights. He is under medical care for recurring headaches. He is retired. He tells a reporter at the NAACP hearing, honestly, from the guts, yes, "I was going to be champion."

* * *

Al Goode was a recent victim. He made the mistake of asking police to move their patrol car from his West Philadelphia gas station. "If you don't get out of my way," police officer Newsome told him, "I'll blow your face off."

The cop then roared away, only to return with at least six more police who stalked Goode down in his garage and beat him to within an inch of his life with nightsticks, blackjacks, fists, and boots. Goode was in critical condition for a time. Now he suffers from headaches and fears for his life.

A number of witnesses to the assault backed up his story. And they confirmed the comment from a cop who joined in the rampage against Goode: "That's the hardest-head nigger I ever hit."

* * *

On June 15, the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia released findings of a lengthy survey on the police. It stressed that cop terror is both "widespread" and that the "bad apple theory alone is not sufficient to explain police abuse."

Of a reported 272 police beatings in 1976, for instance, nearly half occurred inside police stations. Only 12 percent of those assaulted by cops in the streets were convicted of charges they faced.

* * *

Steve Collins, a Black news director of WHAT radio here recounted an incident in which he was pursued and beaten by gun-waving, off-duty, uniformed cops in downtown Philadelphia because they "suspected" he stole a car. Fifty white cops surrounded him and his friends, he said, "and I thought I was going to die." Collins was not brought to trial for any of the forty-four counts he was arrested on, he said, "because I was lucky, because my uncle was a city councilman. If I was a guy on the block, God knows what would have happened."

"Every policeman in this city," Collins said to the packed gallery of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites, "has the same attitude, which is typified in South Africa."

The entire crowd burst into applause.

All but the three white, hulking plainclothes cops who dutifully had observed the proceedings. They didn't blink an eye.

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Vince Eagan, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta; Laurie Perkus, SWP candidate for city council president. Sat., July 23, 7 p.m. Trinity United Methodist Church, 265 Washington St. SW, opposite state capitol. Ausp: SWP Campaign '77. For more information call (404) 688-6739 or 755-2940.

BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM CLASS. The fight for Black liberation. Wed., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Fourth Fl. Ausp: Fenway-South End SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CHICAGO: WEST SIDE

THE FIGHT FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN CHICAGO. Speakers: Judson Hixon, director of Chicago Urban League; representative of NAACP; representative of advisory board of Austin High School; Manuel Barrera, SCAR; Andrew Pulley, SWP. Wed., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Columbus Park Field House, 500 South Central. Ausp: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1. For more information call (312) 261-8370 or 939-0737.

CINCINNATI

IN DEFENSE OF GAY RIGHTS. Speakers: Bill Hoover, SWP, activist in Kent Gay Liberation Front; others. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Labor history and today's struggle. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, SWP. Sat., July 23, 1 p.m. & 4 p.m.; Sun., July 24, 1 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SUMMER BUFFET. Meet Wendy Lyons, midwest regional organizer for SWP; and Carol Knoll, SWP candidate for city council. Cold buffet and refreshments. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 3226 Glendora. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP

Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wed., 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005, or 697-5543.

HOUSTON: EAST END

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Mon., 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST

INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Fri., 7 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 697-5543 or 526-1082.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Defending the democratic rights of labor. Speaker: Evelyn Sell, SWP. Wed., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM, MINORITY WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Speaker: Karen Carter. Sat., July 23, 3 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347 or 482-1820.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

FILM: The Unwanted. Special report by Peter Camejo, SWP, on the national Chicano conference. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOS ANGELES: SAN FERNANDO VALLEY ATTACKS ON PUBLIC EMPLOYEES IN LOS ANGELES. Speakers: Sandy Barro, steward in Pacoima welfare office; Walter Lippmann, SWP. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. 10510 Hadden St., Pacoima. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 899-5811.

and the other major teachers union, the AFT.

By failing to do this, and relying instead on the capitalist politicians, NEA leaders shoulder responsibility for holding back the development of union and working-class consciousness among the organization's members.

One resolution passed by the convention has the potential to turn this situation around. The resolution calls on the NEA to help initiate "a conference of all public employee organizations in the United States."

This proposal, jointly sponsored by the Georgia and Wisconsin delegations, commits the NEA to support such a conference "for the purpose of creating a united strategy to organize against the cutbacks and budget cuts being perpetrated at all levels of government across the country."

But if passage of this resolution is to mean anything, it will have to be seriously implemented by NEA leaders.

NEA President Ryor is correct when he says that the NEA is a "formidable force" with vast "political clout."

But the political clout NEA teachers have through their collective bargaining strength is currently hamstrung by the policy of hustling votes for the Democratic and Republican parties.

That clout can only be realized if it is mobilized in powerful, independent actions.

Using NEA resources to build a conference of all public employees is an example of the kind of action that teachers can take right now.

Such a conference could discuss and plan common actions—to support strikes, to oppose all the cutbacks, to defend desegregation, and around other issues vital to teachers and other public employees. Such actions would pave the way for unity on a wider and wider scale.

This conference could also discuss the need for independent labor political action in the electoral arena.

It could organize to run labor candidates independent of the two big-business parties—candidates chosen by the unions, accountable to the unions, and representing the interest of all working people.

Such a conference would have a greater impact than all the lobbying and vote hustling the NEA has carried out since its birth.

MIAMI

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes on a revolutionary strategy for labor. Every Mon. & Thurs., 8 p.m. Miami Dade Community College, North Campus, Rm. 1210 Scott Hall. Donation: \$.50 per class. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

MILWAUKEE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Understanding Marxism. Thurs., July 21, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1 for entire series. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170 or 963-5551.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursday, 8 p.m., 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.) Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

NEW YORK

THE ORGANIZER. A film with Marcello Mastroianni, story of Italian textile strike. Fri., July 15, 7 & 9:30 p.m. Sat., July 16, 4, 7, & 9:30 p.m. School for Marxist Education, 186 W. 4th St., 4th Fl., enter on Barrow St. Donation: \$.2. Ausp: Marxist Education Collective. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

PASADENA, CALIF.

BENEFIT FOR PAUL SKYHORSE & RICHARD MOHAWK. Singers and songwriters Ruthie Gorton and Floyd Westernman; and *Voice of the People*, a critically acclaimed play featuring the Los Angeles Provisional Players. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. Westminster Church, 1757 N. Lake St. Donation: \$.3. Ausp: Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense/Offense Committee. For more information call (213) 664-1450.

PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN

CARTER, THE COURTS, CONGRESS VS. WOMEN'S RIGHTS—IT'S TIME TO FIGHT BACK. Speakers: Joan Adler, M.D., Women Against Sterilization Abuse; Mary Aull, Women's Health Collective; Rhonda Rutherford, SWP candidate for comptroller and member of NOW; representatives from Teachers NOW and Elizabeth Blackwell Center. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

PHOENIX

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist strategy in the labor movement. Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.

314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

RICHMOND, VA.

WEEKEND EDUCATIONAL ON MARXIST ECONOMICS. Carter's attacks on the U.S. working class. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. *Introduction to Marxist economics*, Sat. July 23, 1 p.m. & 3:30 p.m. Speaker: Dan Styron, SWP. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$.75 per class. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

SAN ANTONIO

HOW THE UNIONS WERE BUILT. A weekly discussion series based on experiences in the Teamsters union in the 1930s. Fridays, 8 p.m. 1317 Castroville Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

SAN JOSE

CLASS-STRUGGLE POLICY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, SWP National Committee. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. **THE TEAMSTERS STRUGGLES OF THE 1930s AND THEIR LESSONS FOR TODAY.** Sat., July 23, 1 p.m. 957 S. 1st St. Ausp: Socialist Summer School. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

TOLEDO

CAMPAIGN RALLY AND LABOR EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. J.P. Stevens Boycott. Speakers: Tony Dutrow, SWP; Pete Goldstein, Amalg. Clothing and Textile Workers Union; film *Testimony*. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. *Two classes on Teamster Rebellion*. Sat., July 23, 1 p.m. & 2:30 p.m. 2507 Collingwood. Donation: \$.50 per class. *Socialist Campaign rally*. Speakers: John Gaige, SWP candidate for mayor; Norma Saldaña, SWP candidate for city council; others. Sat., July 23, 7 p.m., refreshments; 8 p.m., rally. Swiss Hall, 735 S. St. Clair St., downstairs. Donation: \$.2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: GEORGIA AVE.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WILMINGTON TEN CASE. Speakers: Imani Kazana, Wilmington Ten Defense Committee; Damu Smith, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Tony Grillo, SWP. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, Harvard and 16th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 265-7708.

...miners

Continued from page 3

started shooting at us from the time they came in there, and they're still doing it."

So far, four security guards and two strikers have been shot. State and county officials, who are closely connected with the coal operators, have used the confrontations provoked by the company goons to bring frame-up charges against thirty-three striking miners. New charges are now threatened as a result of the wounding of a company guard July 7. Meanwhile, however, the Justus mine is shut down tight.

And it's going to stay that way, says Vanover. "They won't mine coal until they sign a contract. These men are determined they're not going to work until they get a contract."

...NEA

Continued from page 4

their parents (see story on page 13).

For the most part, however, these positions have remained little more than paper resolutions. The NEA leaders have not mobilized the union's resources and membership in active campaigns behind them.

That kind of energetic effort is reserved for lobbying and electing Democratic and Republican politicians.

Many NEA members, especially in affiliates from southern states, still don't think of themselves as workers and unionists.

This was reflected in the defeat of two constitutional amendments that would have altered NEA organizational structures, allowing it to function more effectively as a trade union: 1) to open up full NEA membership to paraprofessionals; and 2) to exclude administrators and principals from membership in the union.

Both amendments were defeated, despite support from the national leadership.

NEA leaders could have avoided this setback if they had pursued policies aimed at mobilizing teachers in action alongside other working people, including other unions of public employees

...USLP

Continued from page 27

members of the building trades and teamsters unions were being trained to the level of skilled engineers and maintaining a quality of culture that the UAW or USW [United Steelworkers] has never dreamed possible."

The USLP's orientation to Reagan Republicans and conservative Democrats, however, shows that its main goal is to link up with middle-class forces, especially small businessmen.

Reflecting this mentality, the USLP focuses much of its energy on antiunion propaganda, denouncing striking workers and launching smear campaigns against unionists.

For example, the USLP called Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, "Ed the Fed." A United Auto Workers strike against Ford Motor was "widely reported to be a product of a conspiracy between Jimmy Carter's supporters." Another UAW strike was labeled "Woodcock's set-up strike."

Although the USLP traces its organizational roots back to the radical student movement of the 1960s, it has nothing in common with that movement today. It has steadily drifted to the right since 1968, when it supported a racist teachers' strike in New York City against the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

That their rightward drift had reached major proportions became clear after a string of goon attacks against the Communist Party, and later the Socialist Workers Party, in 1973. This "Operation Mop-up" was supposed to deal a death blow to the CP.

These attacks helped make the USLP especially fertile soil for infiltration by cops, agents-provocateurs, and right-wing scum.

The group's publications began to refer to Black youth as "crazed zombies" and to include repulsive sexist language and cartoons, as well as anti-Semitic remarks.

The USLP has all the earmarks of a fascist gang, even down to the use of phony radical rhetoric. Hitler's Nazis used the same trick, even putting the word "socialist" into the name of their party. The USLP, similarly, still in-

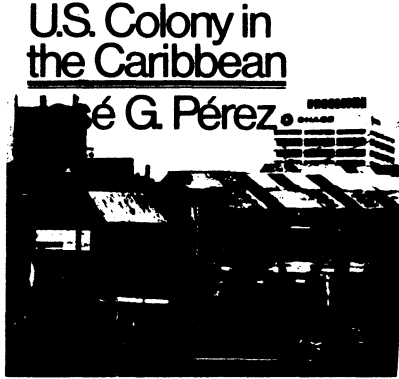
cludes friendly references to Marx and stepped-up trade with the Soviet Union—even in the very article calling for its right-wing "Whig Coalition."

And, of course, the USLP focuses on the Rockefeller family and the Rothschilds—a major European-based banking family of Jewish origins—as the root of all evil.

The USLP is now openly appealing to conservative capitalist politicians, right-wingers, and small businessmen with appeals to restore their lost glory and threatened profits.

This is their real program.

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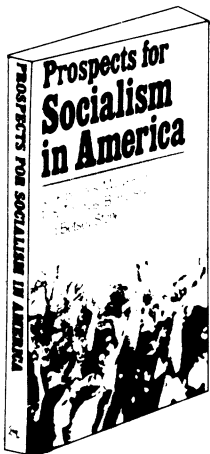
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Kent State: parents of slain student arrested

By Bob Laycock

KENT, Ohio—Police arrested 194 persons here July 12, ending the occupation of Kent State University's Blanket Hill, part of the site of the May 4, 1970, massacre of antiwar students by the Ohio National Guard.

Students and supporters had set up a tent city on Blanket Hill to prevent the university from building a gymnasium over the historic site. The gym was planned without consulting students or faculty.

The first persons arrested were Sarah and Martin Scheuer, parents of Sandra Scheuer, one of the four students murdered when the National Guard opened up on campus activists protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

Alan Canfora, one of the students wounded in 1970, and his parents, Anna and Albert Canfora, were also arrested. The last persons taken away by the cops were two Vietnam veterans in wheelchairs. One of them, Ron Kovic, has been prominent in the veterans' movement and is the author of the book *Born on the Fourth of July*.

The arrests were carried out by university cops in riot gear. They had been deputized by the county for the occasion. Conscious of the national attention focused on the confrontation, however, the cops generally tried to avoid incidents.

Authorities charged all those arrested with

contempt of court for violating a judge's order that they be off the hill by 8:00 a.m. All were released after bond was posted by the Kent Legal Defense Fund.

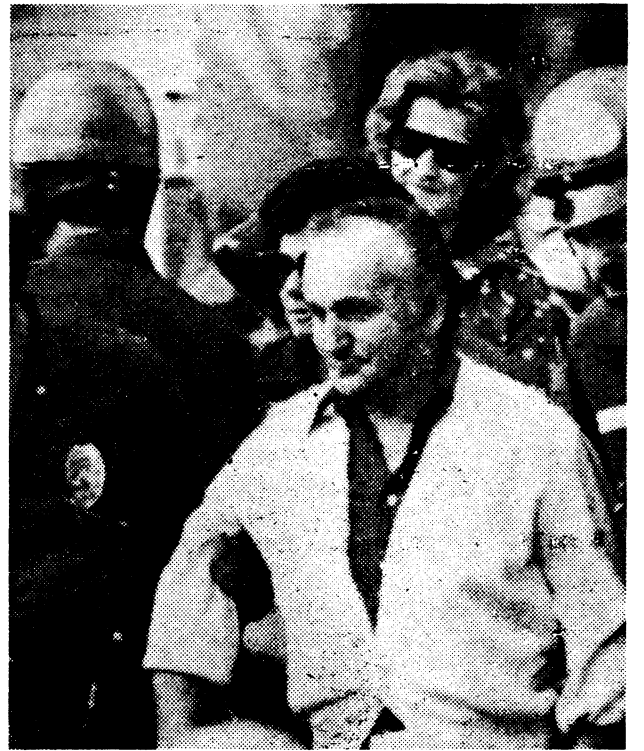
After the arrests, university President Glenn Olds held a news conference where he made crude jokes about the situation. Students charge there has been a cover-up of the 1970 killings he quipped, because the gym will cover up part of the site.

None of those involved in gunning down the students were ever convicted of any crime. Olds denied there was any cover-up involved.

Asked by a reporter why the administration insisted on putting the gym on this spot, despite student, faculty, and staff opposition, Olds replied that he and the trustees weren't swayed by "popularity."

Blanket Hill had been occupied by the May 4 Coalition since mid-May, when the trustees refused to move the gym and ordered construction to begin. However, a court order has blocked construction pending a July 21 court hearing.

The Kent State chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, which belongs to the May 4 Coalition, distributed a statement to reporters at Olds's news conference. The statement condemned the arrests and demanded justice for the four slain students.



Cops arrest Martin Scheuer, whose daughter Sandra was one of four students gunned down by National Guard on May 4, 1970.

Phila. Puerto Ricans: 'Stop killer cops!'

By Ben Bailey,
Seth Galinsky,
and Andrés Pérez

PHILADELPHIA—"The police know how to deal with the Puerto Rican community."

That's what Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neil told an angry delegation from the Puerto Rican

A background article on police terror in Philadelphia appears on page 29.

community that visited him to protest the cold-blooded murder of José Reyes by police officer Gerard Salerno.

In response to the murder of Reyes, 400 people marched from the Puerto Rican community to city hall on July 8.

Protesters carried signs saying, "Unete a la causa Boricua" (Join the Puerto Rican cause); "Justicia

contra el crimen policiaco contra los Boricuas" (Justice against police crimes against Puerto Ricans); and "We are humans not animals, Indict Salerno." People chanted in Spanish and English, "End police brutality, we want justice now!"

The delegation also demanded an interview with Mayor Frank Rizzo. After first refusing, "because he was very busy," Rizzo met with the representatives and assured them that "justice would be taken, . . . and that it would be done within the system."

When the delegation came out, they addressed the demonstrators. Juan Ramos, head of the Puerto Rican Action Committee, expressed his skepticism about Rizzo's true intentions. "The only time Rizzo remembers a Puerto Rican is when he wants us to vote for him," one woman shouted. The rest of the crowd agreed.

José Reyes, a twenty-eight-year-old Puerto Rican father of six children, was gunned down by

Philadelphia police on the afternoon of Saturday, July 2, as residents of the 2900 block of North Orkney Street watched in horror. The cops claim they fired in self-defense. Eyewitnesses who we and other reporters interviewed call it murder.

Reyes spent much of his spare time working on an old car. That afternoon he had been unable to start it. Apparently out of frustration Reyes began breaking the car windows.

According to eyewitnesses, when the cops arrived, Reyes was picking at a chrome fender with an ax. The police van started moving slowly toward Reyes. He shouted, "Leave me alone, leave me alone." Then he ran into his house, throwing the ax behind him. It hit the front of the police van, and the cops fired a single shot through the van's front window.

This shot missed Reyes, but apparently hit Josephina Rivera, a young woman standing on the steps of her house with her husband and baby. Cops claim they don't know how Rivera was wounded.

José Gonzales, a neighbor, said, "I saw José stumble up the steps and trip into his house."

The cops jumped from their van with guns drawn and approached the house.

Antonia Gonzales, another neighbor, screamed from her window across the street, "Don't shoot!"

A third neighbor, Harold Watkins, saw officer Gerard Salerno aiming his gun at Reyes's doorway. Watkins pleaded with the cop not to shoot. Salerno replied, "Oh, I'm not going to shoot him." Then he fired two shots.

Salerno hit Reyes under the left eye.

The cops claim that Reyes was attacking them with a pole when they fired. All the eyewitnesses agree that Reyes was not attacking police and did not have a pole in his hands.

Hundreds of residents came out into the streets after the shooting. Angered by the brutal murder, many threw rocks and bottles. An occupation force of 300 cops was sent in to put down the protests.

The police stopped and searched cars to see if the occupants were carrying weapons. They ordered bars in the area to close and occupied rooftops.

One person told us, "They were pointing huge rifles at us like we were in a battlefield, as if we were the murderers."



Hundreds marched on city hall July 8 to demand killer of José Reyes be brought to justice